3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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The Horse and the Buffalo

Northern Mexico afforded a golden harvest of horses with little danger to the Comanche raiders. Padre Jacob Sadelmeyer wrote in 1744 that the Comanches were raiding the Río Grande frontier for horses. Long years of internal strife and revolution after revolution had impoverished the Spanish borderlands, and the poor inhabitants were without adequate means of defense. Spanish and Mexican authorities, fearing revolution, resolutely sought to deprive the people of arms. The fierce Comanche raiders struck the defenseless towns, haciendas, and ranches like a whirlwind, capturing thousands of horses, mules, and cattle, and many Mexican children. They swept south to Durango, within five hundred miles of Mexico City, and over Zacatecas, Chihuahua, Tamaulipas, Coahuila, San Luis, and Nuevo León. "For days together," said one traveler who passed through the country from Mexico City to Santa Fé in 1846, "I traversed a country completely deserted on this account, passing through ruined villages untrodden for years by the foot of man." The same authority stated that from the fall of 1845 until the time of his visit in September, 1846, on the northern frontier of Mexico "upwards of ten thousand head of horses and mules have already been carried off, and scarcely has a hacienda or rancho on the frontier been unvisited and everywhere the people have been killed or captured.[20]

When "Dot" Babb, for many years a captive and later an adopted warrior-member of the Comanche tribe, expressed the view that the Comanches had a limited vocabulary,[21] he was reflecting the view of earlier centuries that primitives are incapable of abstract thought—an incapacity reflected in paucity of language. Of course, it is perfectly true that primitive peoples, whose simpler cultures have fewer objects to identify and fewer abstract concepts demanding expression, do have need for fewer words. But this is no indication of any inability to refine a vocabulary. Boas pointed out long ago that Eskimos, to whom the condition of snow is a life and death matter, have more than a score of words for snow in various degrees of temperature, crystallization, moisture, and compactness. LaBarre, in his recent work among the Aymara Indians of Bolivia, who made potatoes their mainstay in prehistoric times, recorded more than two hundred words

[20] George F. Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains*, 112.
[21] Babb, *op. cit.*, 144.

for "potato," each word indicating minutely determined combinations of potato qualities.[22]

Considering that 250 years ago the Comanches did not even know what a horse was, they very quickly built up a vocabulary for describing a horse on the basis of color. A horse was a brown (*ḍupsikᵘma*), a light bay (*ohaieka*), a reddish brown (*ɛkakoma*), a black (*ḍuukᵘma*), a white (*tɔsa*), a blue (*epixtuesi*), a dun (*maana*), a sorrel (*ɔtɛkᵘma*), or a roan, either red (*ekaesi*) or yellow (*ohaesi*). Then there was the *dunnia*, a yellow horse with black mane and tail. Pintos were red (*ɛkasɔnaco*), sorrel (*ɔdutsɔnaro*), or black (*ḍuu:tsɔnaro*). And finally there were the red (*ɛkanaki*), yellow (*ohanaki*), and black (*ḍuunaki*) ears.

Most war ponies and race horses had personal names, while the ruck of a man's herd did not. A Comanche warrior would never be caught riding a mare if he could help it—they were for women and children—and under no circumstances would he ride a mare into battle. And while teen-agers might ride mares, a boy or girl dressed up for "show off" considered mares déclassé; only a sharp horse would do.

Riding horses were almost always gelded, for the Comanches became real pastoralists who knew how to breed up their stock. This drew from T. A. Dodge, U.S.A., the following comment: "In one particular the Comanche is noteworthy. He knows more about horses and horse-breeding than any other Indian. He is particularly wedded to and apt to ride a pinto ('painted' or piebald) horse, and never keeps any but a pinto stallion. He chooses his ponies well, and shows more good sense in breeding than one would give him credit for. The corollary to this is that the Comanche is far less cruel to his beasts, and though he begins to use them as yearlings, the ponies often last through many years."[23]

Only a few choice stallions were permitted to breed the mares. All others were castrated when about two years of age. The Comanche technique was to rope the forelegs, throw the stallion, and tie his front

[22] W. La Barre, "Potato Taxonomy of the Aymara Indians of Bolivia," *Acta Americana*, Vol. V (1947), 83–102.

[23] T. A. Dodge, "Some American Riders," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, May, 1891, 862.

194 The absence of a pattern of contrasting voiced and unvoiced phonemes (b-p, d-t) allows for a degree of latitude in pronunciation: d^{y} and g^{w} commonly occur as idiolectal variants of y and k^{w} respectively. Voiced consonants tend to assimilate to their phonetic environment. They become voiceless or only weakly voiced before voiceless vowels, weakly voiced following h (or aspiration), and fully voiced elsewhere.

194 In this paper Comanche is written as it is
195 spoken in deliberate speech. In ordinary
[128] conversation there is slurring, more elision, omission of final voiceless vowels, etc.[11]

194 All consonants except v and r occur in utterance initial position. The consonants v and r are defective in that they never occur in utterance initial position or after a pause in speaking. Further, they may alternate morphophonemically with p and t respectively at morpheme and word boundaries, although the conditions of alternation are not always phonologically determined; e.g., pa·kA *arrow*—nava·kA *bullet* (its arrow); tivo·pĭ *paper*—nĭrĭvo·pĭ *my paper*. t, but not p, always occurs after i.

All consonants occur in utterance medial position.

Only ? and h occur in utterance final, although in normal speech utterance final whispered vowels (see below) are often lazily pronounced and indicated only by the slightest movement of the speaker's lips, or they may be entirely omitted. In such instances the terminal phoneme is then heard as a consonant. Final ĭ in such a word as tihkapĭ *food*, is often heard as simple aspiration. Also, other consonants may occur
[192] finally in loanwords: waikin *wagon* (English); however there is a tendency for loanwords to conform to the Comanche pattern and acquire a final whispered vowel, e.g., papa·sĭ *potatoes* (Spanish, papas).

Consonant clusters are intersyllabic and

[113] [11] Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B, 120, p. 273 (1938); and D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone I: Linguistic Sketch and Text, IJAL 15.175-88, p. 175 (1949), note similar speed effects in Shoshone.

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194 few in number. With a very few exceptions, chiefly in loanwords, there are no clusters of more than two consonants. Except where vowels are elided, and in a number of English loanwords, only the clusters h plus consonant and ? plus consonant, and, more
194 rarely, h plus n, appear. Examples are:
192 puhaknI or puhakhnI *church* (puha *supernatural power*, plus kahnI *house*; tu?re? *rubber*; tehnsé·? *ten cents* (English). The seeming cluster k or k^h plus consonant is common; however in every instance noted a medial vowel had been elided: ?eka- *red*, plus sïkwe? *half*, gives ?eksïkwe? *red half*, *an old style blanket*.

194 3.2. Vowels are unrounded in front position and rounded in back position (with i and u closer than e and o, respectively), and mixed in central position (mid close ï and low open a). These six vowels also appear long (i· and u·, e· and o·, ï· and a·); also whispered (I and U, E and O, Ï and A); rarely nasalized as in the morpheme, hą· *yes*.

The vowel ï approximates the vowels in English "look" and "luck". All vowels, lacking closely contrasting phonemes, vary somewhat from high to low: e.g., o may approach ɔ, or e approach ɛ, etc. Whispered and long vowels, which could also be described as clusters of two identical vowels, are of the same quality as their voiced short counterparts.

No vowels occur in utterance initial; and all vowels occur in utterance medial. Only long vowels, clusters, and whispered vowels occur in utterance final; however there is a tendency for most speakers to close an utterance ending in a long vowel or a cluster with a glottal stop or aspiration. An echo vowel is sometimes heard after a glottal stop: -a?(A).

Short morpheme final vowels become voiceless in utterance final position, e.g., ?e·kanï· *tongue*, and ?e·kO *tongue*. They also tend to assimilate to a preceding consonant, or to be replaced by simple aspiration. In utterance medial position

194 whispered vowels may be neutralized to ĭ, or elided. In the latter case its length may
[192] be retained in a pulse. When a long vowel loses its accent, or when a following voiceless vowel becomes voiced, it often loses a mora; e.g., pu·kU *horse*, navukuwá·ʔ *automobile* (without its horse); tĭcipOsaʔ or tĭcipĭsaʔ *nut, bolt, screw*.

Only voiced vowels occur in clusters. The following have been noted: ia, ĭa, ĭe, ĭi, ai,
[192] oa, ua, ui, and ue. Examples are: pia- *big*; mĭa *moon*; tĭe- *little*; ʔĭvĭiʔ *mole*; haicI *friend*; coapĭ *shoulder*; suavE *cross*; pui *eye*; wihtue *bucket* (objective). -aʔe-, -oʔi-, and -uʔe- are frequently pronounced as clusters in rapid speech; e.g., noʔi *egg* becomes noinĭ· *eggs*.

Stress most frequently falls on the first
[104] syllable. When it does it will not be marked in this paper. An apparent exception to the rule that stress tends to fall on one of the first three syllables of a word is to be found in a long list of names of plants and animals and a few inanimate objects.[13] These words are polysyllabic and end with a stressed long vowel plus ʔ. By analogy the names of many new traits are fitted into this pattern.
[192] Examples are: pohkó·ʔ *burrowing owl*; ʔaʔahká·ʔ *banana*; waʔrokiyá·ʔ *pliers* or *crayfish*. A secondary stress may occur on the first syllable of both these and other long words.

Subject to the qualifications noted above in discussing the distribution of various phonemes, the syllabic pattern is the sequence CV or CVC. The vowel may be
[196] long, short, whispered, or a cluster. Other prosodic features such as tone or phrase and sentence melody, except for a few expletives, seem to be only idiosyncratically meaningful.

193 3.3. Prefixation even including prefixed clitics, while of less importance morphologically in Comanche than suffixation, is highly productive of neologisms and bulks large in the acculturation vocabulary.

[113] [13] William S. Smalley, Phonemic Rhythm in Comanche, IJAL 19.297-301 (1953).

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193 **3.4.** Infixation, if indeed it may be so
194 interpreted, is the least productive form of
affixation. In an arbitrary class of stems the
193 infix, -V-, indicating the morphophonemic
lengthening of a vowel, signifies the im-
194 perative;[41] e.g., hivi·pĭ *drunkard*, hi·vI
196 *drink!*; cihima *to pick up with a stick* and
cihi·mA, imperative form. But the follow-
ing imperative forms also occur: nohi? *toy*
and nohI *play!*; kupita? *flashlight* and
kupItA *light the fire!*. The singular imperative
is phonetically the most economical form a
root can take. All the above examples can
also be interpreted as the phonetically
mechanical results of an inflectional verbal
suffix, -minus V (voicing of final vowel),
used to indicate the imperative.

193 **3.5.** Suffixation is the most productive
[196] form of affixation. Derivational suffixes
include the nominalizers, -pĭ and -?, which
193 make nouns of verbal roots. These forms are
192 highly productive of new word formations
in Comanche and figure importantly in the
names of new cultural acquisitions: tĭhka
eat plus -? gives tĭhka? *fork*; nohko *bake*
plus -pĭ gives nohkopĭ *bread, baked goods*.

[196] There is also a series of derivational
classificatory suffixes which make nouns of
bound qualitative roots: hu·- *wood, tree* +
-pI gives hu·pI *tree*; mu·- *nose* + -pI gives
mu·pI *nose*; pia- *big* + -pĭ gives piapĭ
big one; ?eka- *red* + -vI(tĭ) gives ?ekavItĭ
red one; yĭva·- *autumn* + -cI(?) gives yĭva·
ci? *autumn grapes*. That these are de-
rivational is shown by the fact that they are
lost when combining with other stems; e.g.,
hu·ku·nA *matches* (*wood fire*); ?ekhsa·? *dye*
(*red boiled*).

193 Inflectional suffixes may be either verbal
196 or nominal. They are numerous and convey

[113] [41] Henry Osborn and William A. Smalley, Formulae for Comanche Stem Formation, IJAL 15. 93-9, p. 94 (1949). The treatment of Comanche morphology in this paper, while approached differently, owes much to this pioneer statement. See also D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone II: Morpheme List, IJAL, 15.208-12 (1949), for a sketch of the closely related Shoshone language.

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193 a wide range of meaning. All verbal in-
196 flections are formed by suffixation. Among those productive of new words are: -kĭ *benefactive or causative*; navi?aikĭ? *rocking-chair* (na- *reflexive* + pi?- *with the buttocks* + ?ai *go, lope* + -kĭ + -? *nominalizer*).
192 -?e *habitual*; nĭmivó·?e·tĭ *camera* (nĭmĭ- *1st per. plural* + -i *objectifier* + po· *draw* + -?e + -V *plural* + -tĭ *nominalizer*). Other
193 verbal suffixes indicate mode, tense and
196 aspect. The following are rather tentative examples: -ma *completive*; -kwa *motion away*; -?tu?i *future (in positive statements)*; -wa?i *future (in negative statements)*; -?i *past, semelfactive*; -yU *past, duralive* (?); -nA *continuative* (?); -kI *imperative, plural*; -yu *verbalizer, with substantive stems*; -hr (?).

Nominal inflectional suffixes convey such things as number, case (objective, subjective genitive), and nominalization: -tĭ *nominalizer*; -nĭ· *plural*; -V *plural*; -?a *genitive*; -kwĭ *dual*; -hĭ *dual (on proclitic pronominals)*; -ha *objective*; -hta *objective*; -i *objective*.

193 **3.6.** Enclisis: Morphologically enclisis may be considered as a special type of
[194] affixation. Clitics are phonologically bound to words, normally unstressed, and, although they stand after any inflection on the stem (enclitic position), they may themselves be inflected (proclitic position). Clitics may be either bound, that is appended to a stem and never uttered in iso-
[196] lation, or free. Examples of bound clitics are: -ca? *declarative*; huhcu·ca?/toyava?aiki/ yĭcĭ?I *that bird flew over the mountain* (huhcu· *bird* + -ca?); -se? *narrative* (in myths and stories); -ha? *interrogative*; -ci? or -ĭ? *diminutive*, etc. Free clitics may function morphologically as either clitics
193 or as stems (see below). Prepositional,
196 locative, pronominal, numerative, demonstrative, and other notions are expressed by clitics.

3.7. A paradigm of pronominal and demonstrative affixes which function as clitics is given below:

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11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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contact, as between Spanish and Nahuatl,[46] other forms may also be adopted. There is also evidence that phonetic and morphological shifts may occur under these conditions,[47] especially if a high degree of bilingualism is operative. Boas has argued for the diffusion of phonetic and morphological traits from one language to another,[47] and suggests that historical factors may account for the presence of instrumental prefixes in Shoshonean, Kutenai, and Sioux.

There are four principal means by which a language may enlarge its vocabulary to accommodate new objects and ideas. These neologistic devices will be discussed in detail for Comanche under the following headings: the extension of old meanings; the coining of new words; the borrowing of loanwords from other languages; translation-borrowing. Since the first two methods, as compared with the taking of loan-words and translation-borrowing, make use of only native linguistic resources and may potentially be used in the earliest stages of linguistic adjustment to culture contact, we may refer to their use as PRIMARY ACCOMMODATION. The use of loanwords and loan-translation, on the other hand, requires some knowledge of the language of the impinging culture and usually implies a more intense form of contact which Bloomfield has called "intimate borrowing".[48]

[46] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I (New York, 1930).

[47] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24: 335-345, p. 342 ff. (1948); and Jean B. Johnson, A Clear Case of Linguistic Acculturation, AA 45: 427-434 (1943).

[47] Franz Boas, The Classification of American Indian Languages, AA 22: 367-376 (1920).

[48] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, Chapter 26 (Holt, New York; 1933).

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121 We may correspondingly refer to the use of
197 these techniques as SECONDARY LINGUISTIC ACCOMMODATION.

192 A language may use predominantly one method throughout its career of change, alternate at different times in its history,[49] or utilize two or more methods simultaneously. Comanche, along with many other languages, has used all four devices, although to greatly differing degrees. The reasons for these alternative solutions are to be sought in the nature and history of the culture contacts, in what Sapir calls "the psychological attitude of the borrowing language",[50] and in cultural factors related to fashion and style. These will be discussed in more detail below following the section on the coining of new words.

4.1. The extension of the meanings of words already present in a language to cover new cultural acquisitions is a common device in all languages, and operates not only during periods of rapid cultural change, but as a normal semantic process. It is the means whereby language keeps up to date with culture; the meaning of bomb in 1954 is rather different from its meaning in 1914. While shifts in meaning may also be said to occur in new descriptive formations, it will be used here to apply only in those instances in which the meanings of words of estab-
192 lished usage are broadened. In Comanche
197 these words comprise about 30 per cent of the total acculturation vocabulary.

[49] This was the case with Pima where the first additions, due to the intense contacts with the Spanish through colonization and the missions, were Spanish loanwords. Then came an intermediate period of early reservation life, initiated by the American occupation, when most of the new words were Pima descriptive formations. And, lastly, came the modern reservation period when loanwords chiefly from English were adopted. George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66-74, (Menasha, Wisconsin; 1941).

[50] Edward Sapir, Language, p. 208 ff. (New York, 1921).

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While we shall discuss primarily terms for the products of White culture, extensions of meanings, as well as the other neologistic devices mentioned above, were likewise employed during the shift of Comanche culture from a Basin-Plateau Shoshonean to a Plains type. In fact, a number of terms have undergone two distinct permutations of meaning: wosA in Shoshone[41] refers to a conical carrying or seed basket, the Comanche extended its meaning to parfleche, and today it refers to a box, pocket, container, or luggage. Similarly, kahnI was used for a brush-covered hut, then a tipi, and now a modern house. In most Basin-Plateau dialects deer is tuhuya or some related form,[42] while in Comanche tihï·yA, the cognate form, was extended to mean horse, and another word, ?arika? (possibly ?a· *horn* + tihka? *meat or food*), was coined for deer. Further, a number of newly introduced traits seem to have closer analogues in the old Shoshone rather than in Plains culture: wihtua *bucket*—Sho. *pottery bowl*,[43] ?a·wO *cup, dish, drinking glass*—Sho. *basketry bowl*.[44]

The extension of meaning depends upon the recognition of some resemblance between the new products of the alien culture and objects and ideas present in the native culture. The old and the new are equated on the basis of form, function, and symbolic meaning. Any or all of these three aspects

[41] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4:2, p. 239 (University of California, 1941).

[42] Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120, Appendix B, Vocabularies, pp. 272-283 (1938). Robert G. Lathan, Elements of Comparative Philology (London, 1862) gives teheyer for horse.

[43] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, p. 375 (University of California, 1943).

[44] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 241 (University of California, 1941).

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197 may be utilized; however, as form is the
192 most palpable aspect of a culture trait, formal equations have most frequently been made by the Comanche. Moreover, most Comanche extensions of meaning are in the realm of material culture where form is readily apparent. Extension of meaning is the method commonly used in naming new borrowings where there was an easily
197 recognizable native analogue. The same has been true for other American Indian languages, including those of the Wintu[52] and the Hupa. The latter called wheat flour by the same term as acorn flour, and potatoes after native bulbs.[53]

197 Naming equations solely on the basis of
192 function and symbolic meaning regardless of differences in form are comparatively few in Comanche. The following may be cited as examples:[57] *# pia?e·tĬ *gun (big bow)*; *ta·vE *clock, time of day (sun* compare ta·venItĬ *day)*; *# nava·kA *bullet, lead (its arrow)*.

A further example is the extension in meaning of the word puha *supernatural power* in the following: piavuharavenItĬ *4th of July (big puha day)*; *puharaivo·? *doctor, minister, Christian (puha white man)*; puharavenItĬ *Sunday (puha day)*; puharekĬraivo·? *minister (puha talk white man)*; puharivo·pĬ *Bible (puha book, writing)*; *puhahuvia *hymn (puha song)*; puhaknI[58]

[113] [52] D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu Acculturation, AA 45: 435–440 pp. 435 ff. (1943).

[113] [53] H. G. Barnett, Culture Processes, AA 42: 21–48, p. 32 (1940).

[128] [57] Word lists will be given in the following alphabetical order: ?, a, e, i, I, o, u, p(v), t(r), k, kw, c, s, h, m, n, w, y.

[104] * Words marked with an asterisk appear in the Comanche vocabulary collected by Charles Detrich at Fort Sill, Oklahoma in 1895. Those marked # appear in Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853).

[58] This same word was used by the Fort Hall Shoshone for a small structure used by the shaman in curing; Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, p. 273 (University of California, 1943). It was also used

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197 192 *church* (*puha house*); suavevuharaivo·? *Catholic* (*cross puha white man*); tamavuharaivo·? *dentist* (*tooth puha white man*).

In similar fashion ?aca?vI, *supernatural*; *guardian spirit*, has been extended to include Holy Spirit, and miracle.

The use of puha with reference to both religion and doctoring possibly reflects the fusion of these two offices in aboriginal Comanche culture,[39] or at least a similar attitude towards both the religieux and the healer.

192 [128] [197] A representative list of words with extended meanings is given below.[40] The analogies are based chiefly on partial or more nearly complete equations of form, and frequently also of function. In many cases the original referent of the word is obsolete or obsolescent, as with the terms *wosA and *wihtua cited above, and today the new meaning is the primary one: ?ekahkwihce?E *electricity* (*lightning* [red flashing, or cracking like a whip]); ?ehkwe?ne? *butcher knife* (*sway-backed* [related to ?ehkwe?ne·tI *a sway backed person*]); *?eksa·? *dye of any color, vermilion* (*red boiled*); ?ohahkuya·? *king* (*playing cards*) (*yellow carried on the head* [Eagle down feathers dyed yellow were worn in the hair by members of the tanisinī· band.]); ?ona·vI *salt in any form* (*salt*); ?oyo?rI *belongings, goods, wealth* (*belongings*); *paraivo·? *boss, leader, head* (*so-called peace chief*);[41] paco?E *fresh beef* (*wet*); *pahmU *tobacco in any form* (*tobacco*)

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by a Nevada group for a small enclosure figuring in a magical ceremony for antelope hunting; Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 219 (University of California, 1941).

[39] This was apparently the case for Shoshone culture; Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, pp. 281-287 (University of California, 1943).

[40] Not all the vocabulary collected appears in the various word lists; however a large and representative cross-section is given.

[41] See E. A. Hoebel, The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians, MAAA No. 54, pp. 18-20 (1940).

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192 *pihna·ʔ *sugar, candy (sweet)*;[112] *pihcĭʔnia? *straight pin* (related to pihcĭnĭarA *a person with wide, fat buttocks*. Pin so called because of butt end); # pisapĭ *paint, rouge, powder, compact* (*paint*, chiefly ochres); pisipĭ *venereal disease* (*gangrene, any pussy infection, rotten flesh*); pimaʔnika? *menstrual napkin* (*push into the buttocks with the hand* [formerly used old buffalo robes]); pokopĭ *candy, nuts, berries, fruit*, etc. (*edible part of plant*); * # pu·kU *horse* (singular only) (*pet*);[113] *puʔE *road* (*trail, path*); *puhiwĭ *money, dollar, iron, metal* (*metal, ore*); *tahkaʔmi·cA *cucumber, "blueballs", a venereal disease* (*gland* [at groin]); tanesi? *king* (*playing cards*), *fetlock*, also a decoration hanging from knee on dress leggings; *tĭrani? *hammer, sledge* (*hammer* [ta·nĭ *conquer!*, imperative]); tĭciwai? *ramrod* (*a prole* [especially for marrow]); *tĭ·hkaʔa? *hatchet, axe* (*hatchet*); *tĭmuhkU *cord, rope; reins* (cording [narĭmuhkU *harness, reins, its rope*]); tĭ·wai? *solitaire* (card game) (*to d-ive game* [as from bushes with a stick]); # toʔĭ *tobacco pipe* (*pipe*); *tuʔre? *rubber, elastic* (*leech*); kahpE *bed* (*bed*); kĭ·kA *onion* (*wild onion*); kĭmina- *break* (*a limb*) with machinery or automobile; also, as formerly, to break with the teeth; korohkO *scarf, crawat, yoke, collar* (*neckpiece*); kohca·pĭ *pudding, mush, gravy, fruit jam*, etc. (esp., mesquite bean mush [kohca· *to stir*]); kohinehkĭ *belt* (*sash with long tassel*); kupĭta? *electric light, flashlight* (kupĭta- *light the fire*); kwasu? *shirt, dress* (*dress of deer or antelope skins*); kwitacĭ *sausage* (*big intestine*); kwinumapĭ *drunk* (*dizzy*); cahani- *drive* (horse or automobile); *straigh-*

[113] [112] Marcy gives melon as the meaning in 1851. The same word, written pĝi-n-hH', appearing in Kiowa is translated as "honey, sugar, anything sweet"; John P. Harrington, Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language, BAE-B 84 (Washington, D. C.; 1928). Possibly both are loanwords from panocha, a coarse Mexican sugar.

[113] [113] Also in Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), written, bunko.

[p. 220-A]

192 *ten*, as clothes; cohpE *pillow* (*headrest, head of bed*); *co·mO *beads* (*bone beads*); savahpaki? *drum* (*drum* [Detrich gives waw vee wihk to ow, woviwihtua *wood bucket*]); sanahpĭ *glue, paste* (*pitch*); sanahkó·?[45] *chewing-gum* (slippery elm bark which was chewed); *sohovokó·? *fig* (*cottonwood fruit*); *suavE *cross, crucifix* (*cross*); suapĭ *soul* (*thought?*);[46] suthai- *bless* (*pity*); hivihkatĭ, hivipĭ *drunk* (hivI *drink!* [this could also be interpreted as loan-translation]); hĭ·kI *awning, umbrella* (*shade*); maniha- *to read, make a fixed speech* (*name something*); na?sihpé·? *ball, baseball* (*gourd* [na? *it's* + *fallen from the cold*]); *nakuel *gunpowder* (*powder*); *nacu?U *medicine* (*medicine*); *nĭ·tipĭka? *button* (*tipi lacing-pin*); nĭ·tĭvu?ipĭ *button-hole* (*slits for lacing tipi*); *nohi? *toy, game* (*toy* [nohi *play*]); *wa?ihpikwasu? *woman's dress*; wahka?e·tĭ *running, galloping* (said of herd of horses, buffalo, merry-go-round, machine, motor, etc.); % *wanapĭ *cloth* (*bark*); wa?rohkĭyá·? *pincers, tongs* (*crawfish* [shellfish, + carry in the mouth]); *wihI *knife* (*flint knife*); wĭ?aikĭ- *to crank a car, turn a grindstone, roll a hoop, wind something up;* formerly to make a horse lope by whipping or urging it. (wĭ?- *instrumental* + ?ai *go* + -kĭ *causative*); wihivi? *cup* (old word) (wĭ- + hivi- *drink* + -?, nominalizer); wĭnomenA *move hips back and forth as in copulation;* now *dance, hula*, etc; wokoral? *scrape* (*painted bunting, (bird)* [woko- *pine* + tai *spot*]); yokapĭ *oyster* (mucous, spittle); *yuhU *oil, grease, lard* (*fat*).

192 In order to distinguish the old trait from
193 the new the modifiers taivo·[47] *White man's*,
197

[45] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 332 (University of California, 1941) gives pitch for sanako.

[46] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 261 (University of California, 1941) gives *breath* as the meaning of this word in Shoshone.

[47] Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the

192 and nïmï- *Indians' or ours*, are often prefixed
193 to a word whose meaning has been ex-
197 tended." The use of the modifier is optional to some extent, depending upon contexts where ambiguity might arise; but they often tend to become fixed and integral parts of the word. In many of the following examples the unmodified word refers primarily to the new trait and the modifier is necessary when
192 the old trait is to be specified. These examples indicate the extent to which new traits have superseded their native counterparts:

?a?ahkáˑ? *banana* (Detrich gives tab ak see); nïmï?a?ahkáˑ? *devil's claw*, a plant bearing a crescent-shaped seed-pod which turns brown and then black and yields edible black seeds. (From ?aˑ *horn*, katĬ *goi*). ?amawóˑ? *apple*; nïmï?amawóˑ? *red-haw* (tïrïe- *little* [redupl.] may also be used instead of nïmï-). *tïsaaI *perfume*; nïmïrïsaaI *a native perfume made from a plant.* *kahnI *house;* *nïmïkahnI" *tipi.* konO *cradle;* also now, *coffin;* nïmïkonO *cradle-board.* ⁂ kuhcU" *cattle* (*pimoroˑ?, however, is more common);

Amer Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), gives tabbeboo for White man.

[113] " Gosiute, a language closely related to Comanche, uses taibo, the cognate of Comanche taivoˑˑ, in the same way; Ralph V. Chamberlain, Animal Names and Anatomical Terms of the Gosiute Indians, Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 60: 74-103 (1908). The use of a modifying element to distinguish the old from the new is widespread in North American Indian languages. See Albert S. Gatchet, 'Real', 'true', or 'genuine' in Indian Languages, AA o.s., 19: 391-403 (1896); John P. Harrington, Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language, BAE Bulletin 84 (Washington, D. C.; 1928); and D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu Acculturation, AA 45: 435-440, p. 436 (1943).

" Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8: 3, p. 365 (University of California, 1943), gives this for the Lemhi Shoshone.

" Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), gives kotso for bison.

192 *nīmīkuhcU *buffalo.* kwasu? *shirt, dress;* nīmīkwasu? *women's dress of deer or antelope hide.* #napĬ *shoes;* *nīmīnapĬ *moccasins.* nacihtu?ye? *hair-brush;* nīmīnacihtu?ye *hair-brush, made of yucca.* *wanahĬ *blanket* (wana- *cloth* + -hĬ *hair*); *nīmīwanahĬ *buffalo hide robe.* wiya·? *rope;* nīmīwiya·? *braided rawhide rope.* yīva·ci? *grapes;* nīmīyīva·ci? *wild grapes.* nīmīvarīvo? *paint brush of soft bone.* pasohó·? *mourning dove;* taivovasohó·? *pigeon.* *pī·yĬ *wild duck;* taivovī·yĬ *domesticated duck.* nīhkapĬ *dance;* taivonīhkapĬ *modern dance.* nīkī·tA *Canada goose;* taivonīkī·tA *domesticated goose.* taivovihna·? *canteloupe* (*White man's sweet*). taivonacu?U *patent medicine.* ?evI powder; taivo?evI *face powder;* nīmī?evI *powder of white clay used as a cosmetic;* also mixed with medicines; used to whiten buckskin. pikapĬ *leather;* taivovikapĬ *leather;* nīmīvikapĬ *buckskin.* mu?vitá·?I *nostril, walnut;* taivomu?vitá·?I *English walnut;* nīmīmu?vitá·?I *black walnut.* *na?sé·ka? *date, persimmon* (*its seeds out*); taivona?sé·ka? *date;* nīmīna?sé·ka? *persimmon.* na?co?me? *plums;* taivona?co?me? *tame plums, dried plums or prunes;* nīmīna?co?me? *wild plums.*

192 197 [828] Comparable to this simple widening of meaning is the extension of old beliefs to the new cultural borrowings. These are often reflected in a word: kuhcutīvininA *horned toad* (ask the whereabouts of buffalo); now also *cattle.* yīharihkapĬ *one with a hare-lip* (yīhA *fruit worm* + tīhkapĬ *eaten;* the worm, now extended to those found in cultivated fruits, is supposed to cause hare-lip by entering a pregnant woman).

4.2. Newly coined words, which comprise about 65% of the collected Comanche acculturation vocabulary, may be analyzable into their component morphological parts; or they may be unanalyzable. The latter are of two major types: onomatopoetic or symbolic,[11] and asymbolic radicals. Slang and deliberate word creations are fertile

[11] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, p. 156 (Holt, New York; 1933).

[p. 221 B]

192 sources of the latter type in English.[71]
197 These fashions are foreign to Comanche; however a pattern for onomatopoetic formations seems to exist (e.g., wo?woki- *bark*; tï?ï· *killdeer*; civivï· *chickadee*), and the language has added a small number of these forms to its relatively limited number of roots: *ta?wo?i? *gun, rifle* (doubtful); koka? *guinea fowl*; ko·ko? *chicken*; *ko·korá?a·? *rooster, chicken*; *wa?o·?[72] *cat*.

New analyzable words, on the other hand, are exceedingly abundant in Comanche. These are usually descriptive of the new traits, or embody some observation or attitude towards them. While the analysis of
191 most words is quite transparent, this was not always immediately apparent to the native speaker himself who often evinced surprise at realizing the etymology of a word he had never thought about in these terms before.

193 The presence of the set of instrumental
197 prefixes and the pattern of their frequent use has led to the description of many new items,
192 and especially machines and implements, in dynamic terms rather than in static ones of color, shape, and size. Further, the formation of words by incremental affixation
192 [193] allows a considerable degree of subtlety and accuracy of description which is succinctly expressed in many of the new coinages:[73] pacahto?i? *pump (raise water forcefully with the hands)* [pa- *water* + cah- instrumental + to?i *rise, go up* + -?, nominalizer]; ku?mito?ai? *pop-corn (turned inside out by heat)* [ku?- *by heat* + mito- *inside out* + ?ai *go* + -?, nominalizer]; nara?aikï? *bicycle (make one's self go with the feet)* [na-, reflexive + ta?- *with the feet* + ?ai *go* + -kï, causative + -?, nominalizer];

[113] [71] E. H. Sturtevant, An Introduction to Linguistic Science, pp. 120 ff., and 127 ff. (New Haven, Connecticut; 1947).

[72] Robert G. Latham, Elements of Comparative Philology (London; 1862), says that there was then no word for cat.

[128] [73] In these and the following examples the literal translation is enclosed in parentheses, and the analysis, where given, is in square brackets.

[p. 222-A]

192 hu·tohtīvī?i? *brace and bit (to make a hole in wood with the fist).*

4.3 New descriptive formations are listed in the following paragraphs:

?ara?I *bridle (at the temple)*; *?amakwAsU *vest (chest shirt)*; ?a·wonohi? *dice (cup game)*.

?ekahpa· *soda water (red water)*; ?ekavĭta?wo?i? *22 rifle (copper (?ekavI) gun*; socalled because the shells are copper); ?ekarĭ·pI *brick (red stone)*; ?ekarĭhkapĭ *beets, radishes (red food)*; ?ekanarohtĭma? *tomatoes (red tin can)*; *?ekayĭyĭka? *jelly, jam (red shaky stuff)*; *?eksahpana? *soldier (red belly)* [?eka- *red* + sa- *belly* + pana?; compare mahpa·nA *palm*, and tahpa·nA *sole*; or pana *stretch across* + -?, nominalizer.] U. S. Army uniforms of the mid-1800s had red braid across the chest. ?eksĭkwe? *old style blanket, half red, half blue (red half)*; ?evisi?yuhki? *the Hopi piki*, a thin stone-baked corn meal cake often colored with vegetable dyes. *(blue-green flat pieces)*; ?evisonipĭ *alfalfa (green grass)*; ?eviweha? *sulphur (blue burn)*; ?esinĭ·mĭ *captive (grey, drab person)* [compare ?esi- in ?esitĭyai *epileptic*, tĭyai *dead person*; and ?esiwa?ihpī? *a drab*, wa?ihpī? *woman*].

?icakwasu? *veil* [compare ?icahpī? defined as *a person who doesn't care what he or she does, or what people think*; kwasu? *shirt, dress*]; *?ĭmakwAsu? *mackintosh (rain dress)*.

?otī?a·wO *canteen, jug, thermos bottle (brown cup)* [Detrich gives awt ah ow ah, ?otī?a·wo for *bottle*]; ?otĭwanapĭ *khaki (brown cloth)*; *?obavicipĭ *butter (yellow milk)*; ?ohahpuhiwI *gold, a gold piece (yellow metal)*; ?ohasĭkĭkamatĭ *mustard (yellow sour taste)*; ?ohahkunawaikin *street-car (yellow train, locomotive)* Lawton, Oklahoma, used to have yellow street cars. ?omowihtua *camp kettle, cauldron (leg bucket)*; *?onanacu?U *Epsom salts (salt medicine)*; ?oyorĭtani?i? *chest of drawers (belongings put away)*.

papikamAnacu?U *aspirin (headache medicine)*; papica?nika? *wig (put onto the head with the hands)* [pa·pI *head* + ca?-, instru-

[p. 222-B]

192 **mɘntal + nika** *push into* + -?, nominalizer]; papicihtīpka? *hairpin (fasten hair with something pointed)* but papivĭ *head hair*; pavoko?a·wO *tumbler, glass (clear or transparent cup)*; pavoko?awovici? *nursing bottle (glass breast)*; patĭwiarĭ·pI *turquoise (algae-colored rock)* [pa *water* + tī-, intransitivizer + wia *wear out*, + tĭ·pI *stone, rock*]; pa·kico?nika? *beaver fur hat (beaver hat)*; paborapĭ *well* [pa *water* + hora *dig* + -pĭ, nominalizer]; pahte?e·? *whip (customarily cracks)*; pa?muci? *old style saddle* [pa?- *long* + muci- *sharp* + -?, nominalizer]; pawovivu·kU[14] *boat (water board horse)*; pekwinarohtĭman *canned salmon, or sardines (fish canned)*; pia?ohapItī·? *grapefruit (big orange)*; piakwAsu? *coat (big shirt)*; piahuhcu?raivo·? *Republican (eagle White man)*; ko·korá?a·raivo·? *Democrat (rooster White man)* [The eagle and the rooster were early party emblems]. pikakUsA *chaps (leather leggings)*; pikwsi·? *single buggy* This was translated as *nothing behind.* [pi- *buttocks*; and kwasI *tail*; also pikwsinakwĭ *back end*]; pici?wihpara? *brassiere (spread over breasts)*; *picohkO *trousers (buttocks covered)*; *pisayune? *tin, tin can, canned goods (paint falls off)* (pisapĭ *paint* + yuman *fall off* (?). Another informant thought this referred to a soft noise from tin rolled up and strung and put on moccasins]. pixĭmaroko·rĭ·pI *opal (rainbow, sore thumb, stone)* [Belief that if one pointed to the rainbow, one's finger would rot and fall off]; *piso·nA *cushion, rug (buttock pad)*; pihivoa *type of modern dress; petticoat (spread out from the buttocks fan-wise)*; § *pimoró·? *cattle (graze backwards* (?)); pimoró·?sari·? *collie (cattle dog)*; *pihnárohtiya? *cake, sweet roll* (sweet bread); pihná·nohkopĭ *cake, cookies* (sweet baked); pierĭyaimuya?kɘ? *radio* (ghost music); pīesĭnahanipĭ *ready made (clothes)* [pīe- *old,*

821

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[14] Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853), writes wo-we-poke (**wovivu·kU** *wooden or board horse*) for boat.

[p. 223-A]

192 *former* + **-ī** *very own* + **na-**, reflexive + hani *make* + -pĭ, nominalizer]; pïesu?ve? *bandanna* [pïe- + su?, 3rd per. sing. demon. + pe *hang down* (?)]; pïhïkukwe?ya? *lion* (*head comes out of hair*); *pïhïsïawanapĭ *velvet* (*down feather cloth*); *pïhïwanapĭ *flannel* (*hair cloth*); *pïhïsï?kï?ĭ *peach* (*hairy plum*); pïmatanácinaro?ikï?enA *syringe* (*pointed object which makes one defecate*); *po?sava· *whiskey* (*crazy water*); po?sarïvo·pĭ *comics* (*crazy book*); po?sava?ihpï? *harlot* (*crazy woman*); pokorïhkapĭ *vegetables* (*fruit food*); posa·kĭ *bridge* (*string* [as beads] *at*); pukurïhka? *oats* (*horse food*); # *puhivihna·? *watermelon* (plant sweet); puhi(pĭ)tïhkapĭ *greens: celery, lettuce, spinach, etc.* (*plant food*); *puhihu·vA *tea* (*weed coffee, wood water*); *puhiwi?ai? *blacksmith* (*makes metal*); puhiwiknI *bank* (*money house*); *puhiwirekwapĭ *telephone, telegraph* (*metal talker*); puhiwitïvo· *typewriter* (*metal writer*); puhiwitïvo·pĭ *check, bank note* (*money paper*); puhiwitïropOsa? *nails* (*metal string* [*fasten*] *with the fist*); puhiwitïrawïna? *nails* (*metal pegs, wooden tipi pegs*); puhiwitositO *horseshoe* (*metal hoof*); puhiwihïa? *fish hook, steel trap* (*metal trap*); puica?nika? *eye glasses* [pui *eye* + ca?- instrumental + nika *push into* + -?, nominalizer].

ta?ivihú·ra? *kidney beans, lima beans* (*flat beans*); ta?nika? *stirrup* (push into with the foot); taivo·rekwapĭ *English* (*White man's talk*); tavevo·? *captive, or descendant of captive; White man:* derogatory [corruption of taivo·?, (*White man*)]; tavehuhcu·? *peacock* (*sun bird*); tapúhiwimapĭ *loan* (*our money gotten*); tarïhkapĭ *cereal* (*morning food*); takïya?enA *fever thermometer* (*hold in one's mouth*); tasi? awïsiwïpĭ *vaccination* (*small pox cut open*); tasikó·?E *skate* (*slide on the foot*); taso·nA *rug, carpet* (*foot pad*); tahivĭnohkopĭ *pancake, tortilla* (*thin baked*); tahivĭwihI *sword* (*thin knife*); tahivĭwosA *suitcase* (thin container); tahmani? *early corn* (tahma·nI *spring of year*); tamakï·nika? *false teeth* (*teeth push into with the mouth*); tïe?a·wO *spoon* (*little cup*); tïevïhïsï?kï?I *apricot*

[p. 223-B]

192 (*little peach*); tiehna?kwIsi? *squash* (*little punpkin*); tipeca?nika? *bit* (*thrust into the mouth*); *tivo·pI *paper, printed matter, book, letter; credit* [ti- + po· *draw, mark* + -pI, nominalizer]; tivo·pIwosA *mail box* (*letter holder*); tivo·knI *school* (*writing house*); tivo·wapI *school child, amanuensis*; tipipu?E *concrete road* (*stone road*); tipitaso·nA *concrete sidewalk* (*stone foot pad*); tipiknI *jail* (*stone house*); ti?nokatI *camel* (*got loaded*); tirahcuki? *eraser* (*rub out with the foot*); *tirawipI *wages* [ti- + tawi *bet, win* + -pI, nominalizer]; *tiri?aiwapI *slave, captive; tenant, hired hand; lessee* (*person who works for one*); *tirikAraivo·? *robber, thief, free-booter* (*thief White man*); tirIna? *lister* (*planter*); tirohtIwa? *can opener* (*open with the fist*); tirohtima? *cork, stopper* (*close with the fist*); *tikIso·nA *oil-cloth* (*pad to eat off*); tikihkoa? *scissors* [ti- + kih- *with the teeth* + koa *cut through* + -?]; tikima?ai? *ribbon* (*make an edge*); *tikimahIa? *black pepper, spices* (*food mix*); tikinarsO *lunch-box* (*food sack*); tica?o·ki? *rake* [ti- + ca?- + ?o·ki *gather together* + -?]; ticavo·? *plow* [ti- + ca- + po· *mark* + -?]; ticahpico·ni? *clothes wringer* (*twist with the hands*); ticah-to?i? *winch, pulley* (*raise with the hands*); ticahkina? *sewing machine* (*hold down with the hands*); ticipOsa? *nut and bolt, screw* (*string together with a point*); ti·cIkeraivo·? *barber* (*cut White man*); ticikwIsipI *knitting* (*twisted together with a pointed object*); tiso·nA *dish, table cloth, (food pad)*; tihtima? *fence* [tima- *enclose*]; *tihi·yaknI *barn* (*horse house*); tihka? *fork, table* [tihka- *eat* + -?]; tihkaphanarsupI *hamburger, sausage* (*food ground up*); tihmsune? *wash-board* (*rub with the hands*); tihnIhativo·pI *book* (ti- + niha- *name* + tivo·pI); timava·pI *dough, batter* (*put the hand in something sticky*); *timacune? *file, whetstone, grind-stone* (*rub with the hand*); timaniku?wipI *cottage cheese* [ti- + ma- + niku?wI, *coagulate* + -pI]; # timi· *buy, sell, trade* [ti- + mi· *to distribute surplus food such as buffalo meat, dried plums, etc.*]; tiyaiphano?e·tI *ambulance, hearse* (*carries the dead*); tiyaiha-

[p. 224-A]

192 konO *coffin (dead person's cradle)*; tī·yUsike? *harrow* [tī- + yusiketĭ *fine, granular*]; tokĭnE *thresh by having horses trample grain covered with a cloth; shell corn* [to- *with the fist or hoof* + kĭne]; tosakĭma? *blanket with white edges, or cut in two and sewn together to get stripe down the center (white edge)*; *tosaknI *tent, canvas (white tipi, house)*; *tosahketuka? candle *(white lamp, doesn't go out)*; tosahnarsO *flour sack (white sack)*; tosawanahĭ *sheet, bedspread (white blanket)*; tosoyoki? *powder (shake out with the fist)*; tu?rekwasu? *sweater (rubber-shirt)*; tu?recinarsO *condom (rubber foreskin)*; tu?renapĭ *rubbers, overshoes (rubber shoes)*; tuivihciwaikin *passenger-car (young men's wagon)* [JC said people dress up like young men to board them]; *tu·pa· *coffee (black water)*; *tu·pihna·? *molasses, chocolate (black sweet)*; tu·pu?E *asphalt road (black road)*; *tu·taivo· *Negro (black White man)*; *tuka?[75] *lamp* [see tu·kA *put out;* possibly shortened from ketuka? *doesn't go out*]; tu·ku·nA *coal (black fire)*; tumarĭ·kI *to fingerprint a check, document or record (make a black mark)*; tu·naivihna·?[76] *molasses (viscous sweet)*; tu·wihtua? *iron kettle (black bucket)*.

kahni?aitaivo· *carpenter (house make White man)*; kahnivusi?A *bedbug (house louse)*; kahnituka?ə·tĭ *fire extinguisher (house customarily puts out fire)*; kahnisi?yuna? *shingles (house flat pieces piled up)*; kahnihavinA *street (houses stretched along)*; kahninahĭ·kI *porch (house shade)*; kahniwo?-nokanA *street (house canyon)*; *ketuka?anáva· *kerosene (lamp's water)*; kesuakhnI *jail (mean, bad house)*; kĭhtavicipĭ *cheese (hard milk)*; kĭhtawanapĭ *denim (hard cloth)*; ko?avicipĭ *cheese (groin milk)*; ko?akawana? *cheese (groin smell)*; *kovetĭvo·pĭ *portrait (face paper, picture)*; koveca?nika? *mask*

[113]

[75] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives ka to kah ?ots ah yah kat ketukanacayakatĭ, (ketuka- *lamp* + na-, reflexive + ca- + ya *carry* + -katĭ *possessor of*; *lantern*).

[76] ibid, gives saw ny pee nah, so·naivihna·? *very sticky sweet.*

[p.224-B]

192 (*push onto the face with an upward movement of the hand*); kovEsari·? *bulldog* (*face dog*); *kuekwAsihtaivo· *Chinese* (*top tail White man*) kukĭme?a·wO *skillet* (*cooking cup*); *kuhpate?é·? *fire-cracker* (*cracks, pops by heat*); kwavihkhnI *hotel* (*lie down house*); *kwasitaivo· *monkey* (*tail White man*); kwa?sinapĭ *slippers* (*tailless shoes*) [kwa?si? *bob-tailed, tailless one*].

ca?sawīki? *sieve, sifter* [ca?- + sa·wītĭ *porous* + -ki· (?)]; ca·tītï·pI *jewel* (*fine stone*); ca·wanapĭ *silk* (*fine cloth*); cena?sari·? *German Shepherd* (*wolf dog*); ci?veta·? *flat dish, saucer* (*spread out and shallow*); ci?winihti?eka? *vaseline* (*chapped to put on*); cipIsi? *gonorrhea* (*penis rotten*); cihpoce? *billiards* (*bounce with a pointed object*); *co?nika? *hat* (*push into with the head*).

sapïvicohkO *overalls* (*belly trousers*); *sa·tociva· *beer* (*foam water*); *sa·hu·vA *soup, stew* [sa· *boil meat* + hu·- *wood* + pa, *water*]; *sa·wītivó?a·katĭ *almond* (*has porous shell, rind*); sa·wītináhrsokatĭ *almond* (*has porous sack*); sa·wĭnacahtïma? *screen door* [sa·wī *porous* + na-, reflexive + cah- instrumental + tïma *close* + -? nominalizer]; sekwikhnI *storm-cellar* (*mud house*); *sikïka?ma? *pickles, vinegar, mustard, lemon* (*sour taste*); sïmïsï-wánavuhiwI *paper dollar* (*one cloth money*); so?onarïvaki? *repeating rifle* (*load from the cheek*); *so·kahnI *town, city* (*many houses*); *soko?a·wO *china cup or dish* (*earth cup*); *soko?eksahpana? *infantryman* (*earth soldier*); sokorïvo·pĭ *map; deed to land* (*earth paper*); sokocihpomi?i? *disc* (*break up earth with a sharp instrument*); sokocihtova? *shovel* (*uproot or displace earth with a pointed object*); sonarïwaki? *mattress* (*straw stuffed in*); sonivihná·? *sugar cane; sorghum* (*grass sweet*); sonivuhiwI *money received from cattlemen for leasing grasslands* (*grass money*); sonicihima? *pitchfork* (*pick up grass with a pointed object*); *soninahrsO *gunney sack* (*grass sack*); *soninahrú·? *oats* [soni- *grass* + nahru·? *counters used in a hiding game*]; soniyĭkwi? *binder, mower* (*grass sits down*).

*hapi?na? *suspenders* [ha·vI *lay*, and pi?- instrumental, *referring to buttocks* +

[p. 225-A]

192 nakwĬ, *side, direction*]; hanito?I *corn-cob pipe* (*corn pipe*); hanitusupĬ *corn-meal* (*corn ground up*); hanikahnI *corn-crib* (*corn house*); haniwo?ora· *corn-cob* (*corn backbone*); hi?o·kwana? *mentholatum* (*sunflower smell*); *hĭki?ai? *umbrella; parasol* (*makes shade*); hu·vA *coffee* (*wood water*); hu·pihná·? *molasses; syrup* [newer word] (*wood sweet*); hu·ko·?i? *saw* (*wood cut up*); *hu·ku·nA *matches* (*wood fire*); huhcú·rekwa?e·tĬ *parrot* (*bird talks customarily*); hu·cihka?a? *saw* [hu·- *wood* + cih- *with a sharp instrument* + ka?A *separate* + -?]; hu·sive? *draw-knife; plane* (*wood scrape*, arrow, hide); humasiapĬ *orchard* [hu- + ma- *with the hand* + sïa *grow* + -pĬ, resultative nominalizer]; hu·masu?ne? *file, rasp* (*wood rub hand back and forth*); hu·hwane? *axe* [Used by older persons. Possibly from hu·- *wood* + hani *to make*].

ma?nĭ?sari·? *dachshund* (*heavy-bodied dog*); mawicohkO *bracelet* (goes around arm); makUsA *sleeve* (*arm legging*) a tubular legging of buckskin worn from hip to ankle. mahtu·pE *cuff* (*arm mouth*); masïa *to plant* [ma- *with the hand* + sïa *grow*]; mayake? *piano* (*make cry with the hands*); mo?oricah-kïna? *thimble* (*finger sewer*); mo?oci?nika? *ring* [mo?O *hand* + ci?- + nika *push into* + -?, nominalizer]; *mo?onahrsO *glove, mitten* (*hand sack*); muvico·ni? *lollipop* (*wring out juice with the mouth*) [compare namavico·ni? *mesquite, wring itself out with the hands*]; muvisari·? *greyhound* (*nose dog*); muvo·tohki? *balloon* (*swollen with the mouth*); muhpe? *hoe* (*nose bend over*); *muyake? *musical instrument; phonograph, organ* (*make cry with the mouth*); muyake?e·tĬ *musician*; muyake?etï· *orchestra, band*.

na?a·wO *drawer* (*its cup, container*); na?o·mO *wheel, leg* (*its leg*); na?raivo· *captive, slave; hired hand* [na- + taivo· *White man*]; *na?kihtava?i? *pecans, nuts* [na?- + *crack with the teeth*]; na?koro·mi? *Ku Klux Klan* (*face covered*); na?kwIsi? *pumpkin* [na?- + kwisI *braid*[n] + -? nomi-

[251] [n] It was stated that in the old days pumpkin was cut into strips, dried, and woven into mats for

●192 nalizer]; na?ciya·?*see-saw* (*raise one's self with a pointed object*); napĭca?·ka? *shoe-horn* (*shoe pull in*); navo·pĭ *writing, print* [na- + po· *draw* + -pĭ]: navo·royaruhku? *tiger* (*striped mountain lion*); navOsa? *chain* [na- + po·sA *string*, as beads, + -?]; navuku-waricavo·?*tractor* (*horseless plow*); narahw-sanapĭ *boots* (*legging shoes*); nari?iyati/ puhiwirekwapĭ *telegraph* (*dangerous or wonderful metal talk*); narimi· *town, village* [na- + timi *buy, sell*]; narihka? *groceries* [na- + tihka *eat* + -?]; narino·? *saddle* [na- + ti- + no· *load* + -?]; narino·va·pI *pommel* (*saddle head*); narino?anahotUkO *saddle skirt* (*saddle's flanks*); naro?]? stairs; ladder [na- + to?i *go up* + -?]: *narohtima? *tin can, jar; lid, cover* (*close itself with the fist*); *nakari? *chair* [na- + ka·rĭ *sit* + -?]; nakaritĭcavo·? *plow* (*horse drawn*) (*chair plow*); nakIsari·? *hound* (*ear dog*); *nakohpo·pĭ *brand* (*cattle*) (*its fire mark*); nakohto·? *stove* [na- + kohto· *build a fire* + -?]; naca?ani?[n] *buggy* [na- + ca?- + ?anI *fall, come down* + -?]; nacahkwinU?e? *revolver* (*turns itself with the hand*); nacahwi? *gate, door* (*pushes aside with the hand*); *nacamukwe? *grapes, currants, raisins* (*eat by plucking off with the mouth*); nacahwi? *gate* (*thrown aside*); nacayakatĭtuka? *lantern* [*tuka?- *lamp*, given above]; naci?aiki? *wheelbarrow* [na- + ci?- + ?ai *go* + -ki benefactive + -?]; *nacihtima? *lock, bolt; key* [na- + cih- + tima *close* + -?]; nacihto·? *cane* (*brace one's self with a pointed instrument*); naciwekwa? *spurs, rowel* [na- + ci- + wekwa *jab* + -?]; nacu?ukahnI *hospital* (medicine house); nasa·wi? *screen* [na- + sa·wi- *porous*]; nahawari?iphaknI *poor-house* (*person who cannot do for himself house*); nahoikIti? *belt* (*put around one's self*); *namahIa? *baking powder* [na- + mahIA

[251] storage, perhaps following the custom of the Wichita or Mandan.

[n] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives to wah we pok, tu-wovivu kU (*black board horse*) for buggy. tu-waikin *black hack* (black wagon [English]), was collected in 1940.

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●192 *mix* + -ʔ]; namocono?i? *tweezers* [na- + mo·cO *whiskers* + no?I *pluck* + -ʔ]; *namocowĭcke? *razor* (*whisker cutter*); namuvIsicĭma? *handkerchief* (*wipe, rub something off one's nose*); nana?atahpunaha? *taffeta, changeable cloth* (*change in different ways*); narĭmu?irivo·pI *newspaper* (*tells a story paper*); *nani?o·ki? *court* [na- + ni?o·kI *call people together* + -ʔ]; nano·? *harness*, old people's word (*its load*); *nayohkahnI *brothel* [na- + yo·kO *copulate* + kahnI *house*]; *nayokOwa?ihpi? *prostitute* (*woman who copulates*); nĭ·pĭcapI *operation* (*cut one open*); nĭ·pohpi? *skipping-rope* (*make one's self jump*); nĭ·hĭca?wi? *fan* [nĭ· + hĭhca?wI *cool a person* + -ʔ]; nĭmivó·?e·tI *camera* (*customarily draws people*); nĭmimáka?e·tI *waitress, waiter* (*customarily gives people food*); nĭminó?e·tI *bus* (*customarily carries people*); nĭmiwIcIke?e·tI *barber* (*customarily cuts people*); *nĭnakarĭki? *medal, badge* [nĭnapI *chest* + ka·rI *sit* + -kĭ benefactive + -ʔ nominalizer]; nĭnaci?nika? *pin, brooch* (*push a pointed object onto the chest*); nĭnĭyI?wi? *alligator* [nĭ-, reduplicated (?) + yĭ?wi (swallow) + -ʔ]; no?anohkopI *pie* (*pregnant bread*, baked); no?sĭna?camokwe? *Concord grapes* (*embryo grapes*); nohihtaivo·? *circus, carnival, fair* (*play White man*); nohihknI *theater* (*play house*); nohkopI *bread, biscuits* (*baked*); nukIsari·? *greyhound* (*run off dog*); nunurawi? *movies* [nunurawĭpI *stampeded, ran off*, as buffalo herd].

*wanaramU *thread, cord* (*cloth sinew*); wanarasé·yu? *clown* (*cloth puffed out at the foot* re pantaloons); *wanako?ce? *soap* (*cloth washer*); *wanacahkĭna? *needle* (*cloth sewer*); *wanaciya·? *flag, banner* (*cloth held up by a pointed instrument*); *wananapI *stockings* (*cloth shoes*); wanso·nA *cotton* [wanapI *cloth* + so·nA *pad*]; wansonamuvIcapI *open cotton boll* (*cotton opened with the mouth*) [so-called because of belief that whatever is inside breaks the boll open with its beak as does a hatching bird]; wĭhavitI *parade* (*stretch along*, as vine, etc.); *wo?arĭhkapI *rice* (*worm food*) [It was said that rice looks just like worms. It was thrown away when first received as rations];

[824] [262]

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192 away when first received as rations]; *wokohukcu? *parrot* (*pine bird*) [So-called, according to one informant, because of markings on feathers]; wo·navina·? *canteloupe* (*striped sweet*).

yananikitI *movies* (viorate, flicker); yici?e·tI *airplane* (customarily flies); yiyitu? *jello* (shakes jerkily); yokarihkapI *okra* (slimy food); yoniwanapI *soft and fine cotton or woolen* cloth [yoniketI *soft, fine, fuzzy* + wanapI *cloth*]; *yu·puhiwI *iron* (common metal); *yu·taivo·?[n] *Mexican* (*common White man*); yu·tihkapI *beef, meat* (*common food*); yu·tiso·nA *tin plate* (*ordinary plate*); yu·kwasu? *everyday dress* (*ordinary dress, shirt*); yuhuruka? *candle* (*grease lamp*); yuhunohkopI *fried bread, doughnut* (*grease, fat bread*); yuhunacu?U *castor oil* (*oil medicine*); yu·nahu·? *table knife* (*ordinary knife*); yu·wanapI *calico, cotton cloth* (*ordinary cloth*); yu·wananapI *cotton stockings* (*ordinary stockings*).

192 197 **4.4.** In addition to the new descriptive words listed above, Comanche makes rather frequent use of circumlocutory expressions to designate new traits not boasting words of their own. For the most part these descriptive phrases are used in reference to the less familiar products of American culture, or as a means of delimiting meaning in ambiguous contexts, e.g., sīkīka?ma? could be used instead of the longer phrase given below if the meaning *lemon* was understood in context. If Comanche did not have a word for, say, *olive* or *sponge*, J, who is a skillful interpreter, when sure of the meaning of the English word would easily improvise a Comanche word or phrase which, as a rule, was readily intelligible to other Comanche. This process was tested and observed repeatedly, and in fact became a popular word-game among our interpreters.

192 197 124

192 197 Many of these periphrastic formations, such as those for *hell* or *lemon*, are fixed in

[n] kusitaivo·? *grey, dark-colored white man*, was also recorded for Mexican.

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192 [197] form and have general currency in the language. Morphologically they are comparable to such expressions as cock-of-the-walk in English and can be described as "phrase-words".[80] The following examples are selected at random from among the considerable number collected.

ʔekavItï/namarĬnipkahtu/tawïhtia?enA [*red one's-wound-that place-pour-on*] (*iodine, mercurochrome*).

ʔohapItü?a/taka/sïkïkamatĬ [*orange's brother tastes-sour*] (*lemon*).

kesïcï·sïsa/pahiku/ta?apï?/tekwaphaná·vo·pĬ [*before-Jesus was-born God's word-written*] (*Old Testament*).

surïcahtïsoko·vi/pihaya?ïkïna·/tenapïma?aiku·/wa?ihpï?a/tatáhtïki? [*that-beautiful-land where-first man-with woman took-steps*] (*Garden of Eden*)

pïkĬrahávi?ena/pi?wesuru·?i? [*place-one lies swings-with-buttocks-hanging-down*] (*hammock*)

sï?kï?iha/taka/pahpa?akunácaweni?e·tï [*plum's brother long-stem-hanging*] (*cherry*)

nïmïpïknáyïkwi?ena/kahnihavinA [*Indians-where-they-mingle street*] [*3rd Street in Lawton, Okla.*)

wanakocewa?itï/pïmatatürohtïma?enA [*soaplike with-which-one-seals-cans*] (*paraffin*)

197 192 121 The problem of accounting for the large proportion of descriptive terms in the Comanche acculturation vocabulary as, indeed, in most American Indian languages,[81] is immediately posed. Culture contact need not be as intense for new coinages or for meaning extensions, which together comprise about 95 % of the Comanche acculturation vocabulary, as for loanwords and translation-borrowing where some knowledge of the language as well as the products of the donor culture is required.

The formal tendencies of a language, as well as historical influences, may be a potent factor in rejecting or accepting foreign

[80] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, p. 207 (Holt, New York; 1933).

[81] Leonard Bloomfield, Language, p. 455 (Holt, New York; 1933).

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192 words.[52] With an efficient means of word-
197 building at hand, Comanche had little need
[121] to resort to linguistic borrowing. Also, the absence of writing and a literary or scholarly tradition in Comanche seems to have acted as a further deterrent to borrowing.[53]

121 Nor, although they are difficult to assess,
197 can such factors as speech fashions and the efforts of native language purists be ignored.
197 There is evidence that the Comanche pos-
195 sessed considerable pride of tongue. Richardson refers to Comanche as the court language of the South Plains,[54] and, indeed, it is difficult to imagine the Comanche condescending to use the language of a lesser
198 people. Moreover, the sign language was available as a lingua franca and was widely used among the Plains tribes.

121 Even if a language does undergo wholesale changes these are mostly in vocabulary and not in phonetic form or grammar where a more pedestrian drift seems to characterize linguistic changes. When contacts reach a certain intensity and duration, and as the social and psychological pressure of the dominant language increases, there is a tendency to adopt the language of the dominant culture rather than to patch up the old language to serve.[55]

4.5. Loanwords have received a fair share of attention from linguists,[56] and they

[52] Edward Sapir, Language, pp. 208-10 (New York, 1921).

[113] [53] By contrast, cp. Hausa, in Joseph H. Greenberg, Arabic Loan-Words in Hausa, Word 3: 85-97 (1947).

[54] R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement, p. 23 (Glendale, California; 1933).

[55] Edward Sapir, Language, p. 220 (New York, 1921).

[113] [56] For example, Myles Dillon, Linguistic Borrowing and Historical Evidence, Lg 21: 12-17 (1945); Robert A. Hall, Jr., English Loan-Words in Micronesian Languages, Lg 21: 214-219 (1945); Einar Haugen, Phonological Shifting in American Norwegian, Lg 14: 112-120 (1938); M. J. Herskovits, On the Provenience of the Portuguese in Saramacca Tongo, de West-Indische Gids, 13: 545-559 (1930); K. H. Menges, Altaic Loanwords in

197 are easily transposed. English vowels are
194 heard by Comanche in their cardinal positions and are readily transmuted into their Comanche equivalents: ɪ to i, ɛ to e, æ to a, ɔ to o, ʌ and ə to ĭ, etc.

194 There is a tendency for loanwords, es-
197 pecially those of an earlier vintage and in general currency, to conform to Comanche
192 patterns of phonetic distribution described in 3.1.[A] Consonant clusters are often reduced to a single consonant, or transmuted to the Comanche form of h or ʔ plus consonant, and borrowed words also tend to terminate in aspiration, a glottal stop, or a whispered vowel.

121 Phonetic transmutation may often be of considerable help in dating both the introduction of a new word and the trait to which it refers. Older borrowings tend to become more closely assimilated to the native phonetics. Thus, Trager in a study of loanwords in Taos, the language of a Pueblo tribe, expresses the opinion that the words which depart most radically from the original Spanish may be considered the oldest loans.[37] Spencer makes the same point with respect to the use of Spanish by the Keres.[38] He also notes that, "In the forms which are presumably older, considerable irregularity in sound shift from Spanish to Keresan is apparent".[39] The same general tendencies
197 may, I believe, be observed in Comanche
194 where earlier loans, i.e., those noted by
192 Detrich in 1895 and marked with an asterisk
[128] in the lists which follow, seem to diverge more markedly from their original Spanish pronunciation. Following this, and even in the absence of confirmatory historical evidence, we would assume that such Comanche loanwords as kavírí·ʔ and poʔróʔ from Spanish, and paisé·ʔ and wowitĭn from English are of earlier introduction. It should be

[113] [37] George L. Trager, Spanish and English Loanwords in Taos, IJAL 10: 144-158, p. 145 (1944).

[38] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130-146, pp. 132-133 (1947).

[39] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130-146, p. 133 (1947).

A [See p. 146-A--Analyst.]
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197 noted, however, that Comanche phonetics
194 correspond more closely to Spanish than
192 English phonemes.

121 Occasionally where there has been a long history of contacts, the same sounds have been consistently transmuted into different native phonemes at different historical periods. This has been true for the Yaqui where such phonetic clues have been useful as an aid in allocating Spanish words to the probable period of their introduction.[90] The same holds for Oneida which has borrowed rather extensively from English for several centuries.[91] Here older borrowings were fitted more stringently into a rather fixed pattern of phonetic equivalents which has been somewhat relaxed for later loans.

192 While Comanche pronunciation of loan-
194 words, especially those of more recent origin,
197 varies depending upon the speaker's knowledge of Spanish or English, the words listed below are spoken unselfconsciously AS IF they were native forms and are an integral
128 part of the Comanche language. All the examples collected are given and it is felt that the list is virtually complete.

192 With the Spanish model in parentheses: pa·nĭ[92] pa·nU *white bread, store bought loaf* (pan); pa·pasI *potato, potatoes* (papas); *pihú·ra·?[93] *beans, peas* (frijoles); *pihná·?[94] *sugar, candy; sweet* (panocha); *po?ro? *pig; bacon* (puerco); *tohtíya? *wheat; bread of any kind* (tortilla); to·rosi? *cattle* (toro +

[90] Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA 45: 410–426, pp. 420–423 (1943).

[91] Floyd Lounsbury, Personal Communication (1941).

[197] [92] Southern Paiute, a language closely related to Comanche, has made the same loan from Spanish and has added a whispered vowel: pa·nA. Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537–730, p. 600 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

[113] [93] Ralph V. Chamberlain, The Ethno-botany of the Gosiute Indians of Utah, MAAA Vol. II, Part 5, pp. 329–406, p. 373 (1900) gives pi-o-ra as a term for everlasting pea in Gosiute. The Comanche term may be an extension, or both may be loans from Spanish.

[94] See footnote 62.

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192 diminutive); *tomá·ta? *tomato* (tomate); *kamú·ta? *sweet potato, yam* (camote); *kavírí·? *goat; sheep,*[93] *mutton* (cabra); kucára? *small spoon* (cuchara); *caré·ku? *vest* (chaleco); *ci·ra? *pepper, chili* (chile); more? *monte* (*a card game*) (monte); *naho·? *knife* (navaja); s *mu·ra? *mule* (mula); wara·cI *sandals* (huaraches); *wenu *good* (bueno).

With English model: ?aiskrim[94] *ice-cream;* ?ekí? *acre;* ?i·cin ?ecin (*Indian*) *agent;* ?uró·? *law* (?u-, *its,* + *law*); pai *pie;* paisé·? *five cents;* papko·n *pop-corn;* pa·re? *barley;* pikí·? *pig* (baby word); pi·c *beets;* pinácI[95] *peanuts;* po·kA *poker* (card game); purí·si? *police;* taks *tax, taxes;* tevo? *devil;* tehnsé·? *ten cents;* tïnïpsI *turnips;* to·kI *dog* (rare); tuvic *two bits, (25 cents)*; kapiko·? *Kaffir corn;* ka·t *God;* ka?tin *cotton;* kamísïn *commission, (Indian) Commissioner;* ka·vic *cabbage;* cakawe· *it's time to eat, let's eat!* (From the American slang word, chuck, or chuckwagon); cikí·? *chick, chicken* (baby word); ci·s *cheese;* ci·sïs *Jesus;* hatïma·re? *hot tamale;* hato·kI *hot dog* (rare); hampïkí? *hamburger;* ho·kI *hog, pork;* senatï? *senator;* sikár·rU, sikár·? *cigar;* sikvic *six bits, (75 cents)*; su·ta? *jack (in cards)* (probably from suit); makaró·ni? *macaroni;* mamá·? *mother* (baby word); marïmé·? *Milo maize;* mavo·? *marble;* merit *millet;* wincestï? *Winchester (repeating rifle)*; wit *wheat* (rare); wïhnsé·? *one cent;* wo·sitïn *Washington, (D.C.), President of the United States;* waikin *wagon.*

[197] A number of place and personal names have been taken into Comanche from Spanish and English and are in common use. Those listed below were familiar to even those Comanche who had little or no knowl-

[93] Sheep is more commonly, pïhïkavírí·?, *hairy goat.*

[94] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895) gives *sweet ice* for ice-cream.

[95] Detrich notes nah-vee-mee, which he translates as *carrying double* (for peanut).

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192 edge of Spanish or English. The list is representative but not exhaustive.

192 Place names from Spanish: ciwáwa? *Chihuahua;* me?he? *Mexico.*
103

Place names from English:[*] ?ahpaícI *Apache;* ?inihúma? *Indiahoma;* ?okohóma? *Oklahoma;* paksīn *Faxon;* posto·kI *Post Oak* (Mission); takin *Duncan;* tepo *Temple;* teksīs *Texas;* totn *Lawton;* ca·núki *Chattanooga;* cikisé·? *Chickasaw;* sinaírī? *Snyder;* manpá·kI *Mountain Park;* maro· *Marlow;* wo·rīs *Walters.*

It may also be noted that a number of Comanche place names are newly coined descriptive forms: ?ekanarīmī·? *Red Store* (An old trading post 3–4 miles south of Fort Sill established ca. 1876); ?ohahpuhaknI *Yellow Church* (Baptist Reformed church and mission at Fort Sill, Oklahoma); pasivanarīmī·? *Fletcher (sand town);* tu·so·kwe? *Anadarko* (tu·-, *black* + so·- *many* + ?o·kwE *flow* + -?).

192 551 Personal names from Spanish: ?ombre? (hombre) *man;* puta? (puta) *whore;* tīhá·no? (tejano) *Tezan;* tirássas (Teresa); tokoyán (Don Julian, or Don Juan); tosamaría? (tosa- *white* + *Maria*); tomá·sa? (Tomas); kupá·re? (compadre) *godfather, friend;* kuhmahcí·tO (Comanchito) *Comanche* [diminutive]; kurú·s (cruz) *cross;* ca·ves (Chavez); civá·to? (chivato) *young kid, he-goat;* wa·n (Juan).

English personal names: ?amaru? *Andrew;* pesi? *Bessie;* piriks *Felix;* po?o? *Paul;* to·me? *Tommy;* tu?nī? *Tony;* ko·ra? *Cora;* maikI *Mike;* menī·? *Minnie;* mīru? *Myrtle;* na·ni? *Nanny;* nere? *Nelly.*

192 552 A list of tribal names might also be given here. The precise provenience of these terms is not clear. They may derive from English, or possibly Mexican Spanish or Indian sources: pi?avoro? *Pueblo Indians;*

[*] All names given here refer to places in Oklahoma, except, of course, the state names Oklahoma and Texas. It may be noted that there are no Comanche names for Oklahoma City, the United States, etc.

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192 552 kaiwanī· *Kiowa* (-nī· may be translated as *people*); karó· *Caddo;* cikšó·nī· *Chickasaw;* sikapo? *Kickapoo;* siminó·? *Seminole;* so-soni? *Shoshone;* navó· *Navaho;* yu·ta? *Ute, Paiute.*

In contrast to the above a number of tribal names are descriptive: ?a?a·nī· *Crow* (*horned people*); ?esikwita? *Mescalero Apache* (*grey feces*); papicimina? *Sioux* (*head unjointed*); ta·si?nī· *Kiowa-Apache* (*spotted people* (from small-pox); saritihka? *Arapaho* (*dog eaters*); šianavo· *Cheyenne* (*feather striped* from their arrows).

197 648 Early and brief French contacts have left no apparent trace on Comanche. And in spite of the wide and relatively frequent relations, both friendly and hostile, between the Comanche and other tribes of the Plains and the Southwest, only a few loanwords from other American Indian languages seem to have been taken into Comanche, and those noted are of doubtful origin. This may in part be attributed to the wide-spread use of the sign language and to what seems to have been a rather large amount of multilingualism among the Plains tribes.[99]

197 198 197 It seems especially noteworthy that the Kiowa, who lived in close association with the Comanche since the close of the 18th century,[100] had so little direct effect on the Comanche language. One word, ?aho *thank you*, seems to have been borrowed from Kiowa.

[192] 601 192 197 The kinship term, haipia, which refers to siblings-in-law of the opposite sex between whom the typical Plains reciprocal joking relationship obtained may, as Gladwin suggests,[101] have been borrowed along with

[99] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 156 (Washington, D. C.; 1898), mentions that Kiowa children were often left with the Crow for 2-3 years to learn the language and thus preserve old friendships.

[100] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 163 (Washington, D. C.; 1898).

[113] [101] Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73-94, p. 81 (1948).

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the custom, although he has been unable to locate a similar word in another tribe.

The Comanche word for *corn*, *hani·vI,[102] is another word of doubtful origin. It is unanalyzable and could either be borrowed or an extension of an older word whose original meaning is lost. The Pima word hu·nI[103] *corn*, appears to be related. If so, the direction of diffusion would presumably be from Pima to Comanche. There are apparently no cognate forms in the more closely related Shoshonean and Southern Paiute languages.[104]

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Comanche loanwords are treated as native stems and are subjected to the regular morphological processes with little or no recognition of the fact that they are loanwords. As an example we might cite the following forms of tehnsé·?, from English *ten cents:* tehnsé?nï· *plural;* tehnsé?ma? *it is ten cents;* tehnsé?wahtÏ *without ten cents;* tetehnsé·? *ten cents each;* tehnsé·kU *add, raise ten cents* (in gambling); tehnse·vetÏ *to the amount of ten cents;* tehnsé·matÏ *part of ten cents;* tehnsé·matïma? tïmï· *spend part of ten cents;* tehnsé·ma?ai? *together with ten cents;* nïrehnsé·? *my ten cents;* tehnsé·nïhW *two dimes.*

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Occasionally loanwords may be adopted in several of their proper grammatical forms. Nahuatl has absorbed a fairly large number of Spanish nouns in both their singular and plural forms.[105] English has

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[102] Randolph B. Marcy, Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana in the year 1851, 32d Congress, 2d Session, (Washington, D. C.; 1853), records hah-ne-be-tah, possibly hani·vItÏ, for *corn.*

[103] George Herzog, Personal Communication.

[104] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537-730, p. 559 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931), gives ?i?á-pI *what is planted,* for corn in Southern Paiute; also on p. 641, qom·i', an older word is listed. Ralph V. Chamberlain, Animal Names and Anatomical Terms of the Gosiute Indians, Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 60: 74-103, p. 374 (1908), notes komu for *corn* in Gosiute. This is a loanword from English.

[105] Franz Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern

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121 done the same as in alumnus, -i, -a, -æ.
197 Comanche, however, has borrowed only
192 one bare form of the word. Thus, ten cents
[193] is used in plural forms which would not be permissible in English. It must also be remembered that the linguistic models presented to the Comanche were from colloquial and not literary sources. The loans, "two bits" and "six bits" are straight from the vernacular. Similarly, Southern Paiute has taken the slang terms "nigger" for Negro and "taters" for potatoes into the language.[106]

Loanwords have frequently been used in creating new compounds or descriptive words in Comanche. It may be assumed in most cases that the loanwords antedate the new compounds in the language. One of several synonyms for *pig*, muvipo?ro? *nose* + *pig* (Spanish), is an example. One notes a degree of redundancy here which may, in fact, indicate that the Comanche are unmindful of the Spanish meaning and
192 origin of po?ro?. The following is a representative list of new compounds which incorporate loanwords:

From Spanish: ?ekahcí·ra? *red pepper;* ?evihpihu·ra? *greenbeans;* ?evimú·ra?ya?ke? *frog (green mule crier);* *?otihtohtíya? *ginger snaps, cookie (brown bread);* pehekatipa·nĭ *rye bread* (pehE *seed* + -katĭ *possessor of* + pa·nĭ); *tosarohtiya? *crackers (white bread);* *ku-simu·ra? *donkey (grey mule).*

From English: kunawaikin[107] *train; locomotive; railroad (fire wagon);* ci·sïsa pïa *Mary (Jesus' mother);* *ho·karoho·vE *ham*

Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I, (New York, 1930).

[106] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537-730, pp. 584 and 683 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

[107] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives koón-ah-wah-wee-poke-o-póy, kúna-wovivuku?apó?E *fire wooden horse's road* for railroad. He also notes táw hawv, toho·vE *hindquarters* for ham.

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192 (*hog's hindquarters*); ho·kItihkapI **pork**, *bacon, ham* (*hog food*); wita·rohkni?e·tI *threshing-machine* (*wheat thresher*).

197 192 Since the earliest contacts of the Comanche with White culture were with the Spanish we may assume that the first loanwords were Spanish. The exact period of their introduction is impossible to determine. It seems likely, however, that this was largely accomplished by the middle of the nineteenth century. Catlin[103] in the 1830s [191] [563] noted the presence of Comanche who spoke some Spanish and by this date hundreds of Spanish-speaking captives had already been adopted into the tribe. Also, the vocabulary collected by Detrich in 1895 includes 12 of the 18 Spanish loans listed in this paper and no English loanwords. It must be mentioned, too, that any or all of the remaining six Spanish loans may also have been in the language by this date since Detrich's vocabulary is by no means complete. At the present time new words from [563] English are constantly filtering into the Comanche vocabulary while the influence of Spanish has waned, although Spanish-speaking descendants of captives are still listed on the tribal rolls.

Alternative forms, either English loanwords or descriptive terms, are in a few cases in more common use than the Spanish loanwords and are perhaps replacing them: ho·kI is more common for pig or bacon than the Spanish loan, po?ro?, the descriptive term, munua? *nose mover*, or muvipo?ro. The descriptive term for spoon, tie?awo? *little cup*, is more common than kucára?. But even where there are synonyms, as with the words for knife, mule, bread, and wheat, the Spanish loanwords are the ones most commonly used and are firmly established in the language. Nine of the Spanish loans, however, are unique terms. It is interesting to note that there are but few

[113] [103] George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians, 2 vols., Vol. 2, p. 56 (London, 1841).

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192 197 synonyms for English loans. Moreover, several English loans such as cheese and wagon have displaced older descriptive terms which are now obsolescent.

From an inspection of the Spanish list it is apparent that it is composed almost entirely of words for such basic and tangible things as foods, implements, domesticated animals and clothing, and from this, even if historical records were lacking, one could assume that contact with the Spanish was tangential. The English list is fundamentally the same in content, and it is possible that it paralleled the Spanish list more closely a decade or two ago, but there is the addition of words pertaining to the church, administration, and a money economy. It seems evident from the linguistic data that Comanche contacts with these facets of Western culture were made primarily through the Americans, and again the historical record confirms us in this.

648 The Comanche, along with many other nomadic or semi-nomadic groups, as compared with the more sedentary tribes of the Southwest, were peripheral to the sphere of influence of the administrators and missionaries of Colonial Spain, or more effectively resisted their overtures, and were relatively isolated from American influences until the late nineteenth century. 000 This is reflected in the degree to which Spanish loanwords have been accepted by the Indian languages of Mexico and the southwestern United States.[109] Navaho has borrowed 32 words from Spanish,[110] Chiricahua Apache 19,[111] Comanche 17, and Southern Paiute 6.[112] Nahuatl, on the other

[109] The estimates given below can only be approximate, but they may be taken as representative.

[113] [110] Franciscan Fathers, An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language, (St. Michaels, Arizona; 1910).

[113] [111] Harry Hoijer, Chiricahua Loan-Words from Spanish, Lg 15: 110-115 (1939).

[112] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute Dictionary, Proc. of the Amer. Academy of Arts and Sciences, 65: 537-730 (Philadelphia, Pa.; 1931).

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000 hand, has taken some 251 words and phrases from Spanish.[113] The vocabulary of Zapotec has been estimated to be 20–30 % Spanish,[114] Keresan has 100 or so Spanish loanwords,[115] and Taos has adopted a minimum of 82 loans from Spanish.[116] Of the Yaqui Spicer says, "Every important aspect of the culture has been penetrated by Spanish linguistic influences".[117] And of the Pima Herzog has written, "The Spanish list (of some 120 loanwords) bears witness to the fact that the Pima acquired their contact with Western culture essentially through the Spaniards. It reads like a modest inventory of early rural or colonial life".[118]

121 **4.6.** Translation-borrowing is the direct and literal translation of words from one language into another. In addition to rather close and continuing contact between the speakers of the two languages, this presupposes at least a minimal amount of bilingualism among the speakers of the borrowing language. It must also be borne in mind that the models for these loans in translation must themselves be either descriptive or used metaphoricaily.

192 197 It is impossible to say in many cases whether a word is a loan-translation or a newly coined descriptive term since the same thing may have been independently named in the same way. *Automobile* in Comanche is navukuwá·? *wi'hout its horse*, and whether this is a translation of our

[113] Frans Boas, Spanish Elements in Modern Nahuatl, Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies, Vol. I (New York, 1930).

[113] [114] Paul Radin, A Preliminary Sketch of the Zapotec Language, Lg 6: 64-85 (1930).

[115] Robert F. Spencer, Spanish Loanwords in Keresan, SJA 3: 130-146 (1947).

[116] George L. Trager, Spanish and English Loanwords in Taos, IJAL 10: 144-158 (1944).

[117] Edward H. Spicer, Linguistic Aspects of Yaqui Acculturation, AA 45: 410-426 (1943).

[118] George Herzog, Culture Change and Language: Shifts in the Pima Vocabulary, in Language, Culture and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, pp. 66-74, p. 70 (Menasha, Wisconsin; 1941).

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192 [197] "horseless carriage" or an independent invention cannot be determined. The examples of loan-translations given below are all from English: *?ahpī?[119] *Father (God)*; *ta?ahpī? *Our Father;* ?ahóhtavehnItĭ *Thanksgiving Day;* ?ohaⁿpitĭ·?[120] *orange (fruit)*; pihi? *heart (design)*; piaho·kI *greedy, dirty, road-hog, (big pig)*; pimoró·vahmU *Bull Durham tobacco (cattle tobacco)*; pihīkavīrĭ·?sári·? *sheep dog;* ta?kivihu·ra? *kidney beans;* tahani·vI *corn (on foot);* tuhtaivo·atahtokó·? *Brazil nut, nigger toe* (American slang) *black man's toe;* tacinu·pI *star (design)*; kavīrĭ·rahkoniwapI *Shepherd (The Lord)*; kuhvsikatĭ *smart, brainy* (kuhvsI *brains* + -katĭ *possessor*); kwási-raivo·arĭhkapĭ *coconut (monkey food* possibly from American slang); kĭhta·hu·pI *hardwood;* kuhcutaivo·? *cowboy (cow White man)*; napa?e·kO *tongue (shoe) (shoe tongue)*; narĭmi? *Master*[121] *(Jesus)*; nĭmĭkuhcusónipĭ *buffalo grass.*

121 Folk etymology, which may be defined as the rationalization or reinterpretation even misinterpretation, of the sound or sense of a word, often in terms of an analogy with another known word, is closely related to translation-borrowing. Folk etymologies may arise internally in a language,[122] but frequently stem from the misunderstandings 192 attendant upon linguistic borrowing. The following examples were found in the Comanche acculturation vocabulary.

[119] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records 8: 3, p. 286 (University of California, 1943), records the identical word in Shoshone.

[120] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives ó hah neurs awĭ pá, ?ohanarsopa· *yellow sack water* for orange. He also notes a possible loan-translation not collected by the writer: sée quee kut sĭkwekatĭ *half got* for half-breed.

[121] This could also be considered to be an extension of the Comanche word meaning *owner* or *master* (as of slaves in the old days).

[122] For example, Welsh rabbit which appears earlier in English is frequently etymologized into Welsh rarebit. And, to take an example from an

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192 ʔotĭmu·raʔ *oatmeal.* Actually this is a loan from English, oatmeal, but the phonetically equivalent Comanche form literally means *brown mule.* The word is not in established usage; however it affords an excellent example of a folk etymology in the making.

[194] wasapéʔatĭhkapĭ *pear* (*bear's food*). As there is no p-b distinction in Comanche *pear* must have been heard as *bear* and so translated. The *food* was probably added to rationalize the word. It may be noted, however, that the Comanche names for a great many plants contain the word for *food,* tihkapĭ.

waʔo·rĭhkapĭ *catsup* (*cat food*). This word as catsup, ketchup or catchup is probably an example of a folk etymology in English and comes from an East Indian word, kitjap.

wokorĭhkapĭ *pineapple* (*pine food*). While this word is similar to the two above, it is perhaps more properly an example of translation-borrowing.

197 Because of their close association and the parallelism in the later history of the Kiowa and the Comanche it seems pertinent to discuss briefly here the Kiowa acculturation vocabulary.[123] The similar roles of the two tribes as culturally and politically dominated peoples is apparently reflected in their like linguistic reactions to White influences. Kiowa has used the same devices for expanding its vocabulary and has also in a great many instances duplicated Comanche acculturation terms. In fact, one suspects that a certain amount of translation-bor-

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[121] unwritten language, in Oneida lodiŋ, lagéhtˀ, literally *they carry mats on their shoulders* and which means *warriors in a band under a leader, privates or common people,* has for nearly all speakers been changed to lodiŋ, ʔlhagéhtˀ, the literal meaning of which is *they carry rust on their shoulders.* Personal communication from Floyd Lounsbury.

[123] John P. Harrington, Vocabulary of the Kiowa Language, Bulletin 84, BAE (Washington, D. C.; 1928), is the source of this material.

128 likelihood relatively complete and contain most of the words collected.

192 RELIGION: ʔáikurahánipĭ *sin (bad deed)*; ʔá·hkatĭ kehínarokwehání·tĭ *devil (got horns, doesn't do anything right)*; puhaniwīnĭnA *religious camp meeting* (puha *supernatural power* + niwīnĭ- *speak to a group* + -nA, verbal suffix); táʔahpĭʔa tékwapha rúawe·tĭ *sermon (telling God's word)*; táʔahpĭwakatu kwícoʔaipĭ *redeemed (saved by God)*; tapĭ·hivin *communion (drinking blood)*; tatohtĭyarĭhkan *communion (eating bread)*; tapóʔsahanipĭ *sin* (our crazy deed); tasó·patkoʔive? *The Flood (when many were drowned)*; *tanávawihtiaʔe·nA *baptism (water poured on one)*; tanárĭmiʔayĭcĭʔ *resurrection (Our Master flew)*; tánárĭmiʔmaʔai yĭkaʔetĭ· *disciples (those who go with Our Master)*; tĭnihnĭkepĭ *parable (illustrate by talking)*; tomovaʔatĭ *Heaven (on top of the sky)*; tu·kwasitaivo·ʔ[126] *devil (black tailed White man)*; *kasaraivo·ʔ[125] *angel (winged White man)*; kuʔenavawihtiʔapĭ *Methodists, Presbyterians and other Protestant denominations that sprinkle baptismal water on the head (water poured on top)*; sokorohkatĭ pĭkhĭnawéhamA *Hell (under the earth, place of fire)*; suavevuhavaraivo·ʔ *Catholic priest (Catholic leader)* (4.1) suavema tanárĭmiʔa tatáwĭnaʔ *Crucifixion (on the cross Our Master nailed)*; nahnsuthaipĭ *prayer (name bless)*; *navawihtiapĭ *Christian (water poured on)*; nahnsuwikaiʔ nahapĭ *miracle (wonderful happening)*; namaváku?nepĭ *Baptist (immersed in water)*; nĭmisúthai *have mercy on us! (pity us!)*.

DISEASES: ʔamawihmina? *pneumonia* ([newer word, see below] *side sickness*); ʔeviwihmina? *flu (green sickness)*; ʔekarasiʔA *measles (red spots)*; ʔohahuhcĭniʔ *yellow fever, typhoid* (ʔoha- *yellow* + kuh- *by heat* + cĭni *soak through* + -ʔ, nominalizer); ʔoʔniʔ *tuberculosis, cough* (?), see ʔo·ʔI *to vomit*); pahowĭhmina? *tuberculosis (fatigue sickness)*; pihiwĭhmina? *heart disease (heart sickness)*; pihná·wihmina? *diabetes (sugar sickness)*; pisipĭ *venereal disease (gangrene, or any pus infection; rotten flesh)*;

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192 pï·hpasapÏ *anemia* (dried blood); pï·wihto?in *tuberculosis* (*vomiting blood*); pï·wihmina? *high blood pressure* (*blood sickness*); tasi?A *small pox, chicken pox* (*sore places, skin infection, hives,* etc.); tie?ekatAsi?A[136] *measles* (*little small pox*); tïvana·wihmina? *pneumonia, pleurisy* ([older word] *chest sickness*); kohikahmkatÏ *dysentery* (*intestine pain*); *cipÏsi? *gonorrhea* (*rotten penis*); cihcïki? *whooping cough* (*cough all the time*); cuhnivasapÏ *rickets* (*dried up bones*); cuhniwïmina? *rheumatism* (*bone sickness*); so?ovekwipÏ *mumps* (*cheeks swollen*); nïmicá?toponi?e·tÏ *meningitis* (*makes you round* [*doubled up*]); nïmïvuivihka? *trachoma* (*Indian's eye disease*); nïmitúhki? tïhka?e·tÏ *cancer* (*your flesh eaten*).

PLAYING CARDS.[137] *waná·si? *playing cards* (*little pieces of cloth*); wanarohpetin *to play cards, old Comanche game* (*to throw down on a blanket with the fist*); *watasI *ace* (origin unknown, possibly from English *ace*); ?ohahkuya·? *king* (*yellow carried on the head*) (4.1); tanesi? *king* (*fellock*) (4.1); wa?ihpï? *queen* (*woman*); su·ta? *jack* (from English, *suit* [?]). (The cards numbered 1 to 10 are called by the regular Comanche numerals.) narohtïma? *joker* (*lid, cover* [so-called because the joker is on top in a new pack of cards]); ná?vutitïkatÏ *joker* (*mates with anything*); watasiatáka? *joker* (*ace's brother*); kasama·hr *clubs* (*one who has bushy, uncombed hair* [compare kasA *wing*]); kinavo·hr *diamonds* (*corner shaped*); pihinavo·hr *hearts* (heart shaped); tahkanavo·hr *spades* (*spear shaped*); tïhimapÏ *hand in cards; rations* (*tïhima to draw a share of something*); tïvA *bell* (meaning extended); narïvapÏ *ante, pot* (*its bet*); to·n *or* to·hkatïnï? *to stand pat, no more cards* (*to graze*); tï·wai? *solitaire* (*to drive game from cover*); more? *monte* (*monte* [Spanish]);

[136] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895), gives tár-see-ah wo mee nok et, tasi?awïhminakatÏ *spot sickness*.

[137] The words given here and under Time and Measure are not listed alphabetically.

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192 navinain *monte* (*to choose*); po·kA *poker* (*poker* [English]); nanahtaka?nïhW *a pair* [in poker] (*two brothers*); páhinánahtaka?nï· *three of a kind* (*three brothers*); manekIku/ rihima·hr *full house* (*five hand* [manekItÏ is an obsolescent word for *five*]).

TIME AND MEASURE. piasïmihtÏ *thousand* (*big hundred*); cuku?sïmihtÏ *million* (*old hundred*); navuhiwI *price* (*its money*); ?eka?puhiwI *cent* (*red money*); ?usïkwe·vI *half dollar* (*its half*); *tïmanahke? *yardstick, ruler, gauge, any measuring unit, pattern* (see manakE *measure, imitate*); sïmïrïmanahke? *inch* (*one measuring unit*); sïmïyú·tïmanahke? *inch* (*one common measuring unit*); napetïmanahke? *foot* (*foot measuring unit*); sïmïnáhmAsoma·hr[128] *one yard* (sïmï- *one* + nah- reflexive + ma-, *by hand* + soma-, *fold back* + -(V)hr, verbal suffix); *sokorïcï·pÏ *mile* (*one land count*); sihï?awotihpetÏ[129] *a bushel* (*willow cup measure*); naraya·kï? *scales* (na-, reflexive + taya· *to lean* + -kï, causative + -?); sïmïnáraya·kï? *pound* (*one scaled*); sïmïrávekwihne?[130] *hour* (*one clock turn*); pïpekuma?ïrï?ï·nA *degree* [of heat] (*how hot it is*); *mïarïvo·pÏ *calendar, almanac* (*moon paper*); sïmïvúharai *week, one week* (*one Sunday*); *puharavenItÏ[131] *Sunday* (see 4.1); tapúharai/hapïeckU *Monday* (*day after Sunday*); tapúharaihva?atu/

[128] Said to come from measuring cloth from the bolt.

[129] The word for bushel basket, sihï?a·wO *willow cup* is probably an extension of an old Plateau word for a basketry olla. See Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 241 (University of California, 1941).

[805] [805] [171] [113]

[130] There are no words for minute or second.

[131] Terms for the days of the week in many North American Indian languages are similar to Comanche in taking Sunday as a point of reference for naming the other days of the week. See A. I. Hallowell, Temporal Orientation in Western Civilization and in a Preliterate Society, AA 39: 647-670 (1937), especially the sections, "Acculturation of Time-pieces" and "Named Days and the Week."

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●192 **wáhahávicI** *Tuesday* (*slept twice after Sunday*); tapúharaihva?atu/páhihávicI *Wednesday* (*slept three times after Sunday*); tapúharaihva?atu/háyarokwihávicI *Thursday* (*slept four times after Sunday*); tapúharaihva?atu/mó?ove?kahávicI *Friday* (*slept five times after Sunday*); tĭhimAhravenItĭ[18] *Friday* (*rationing day*); tĭevuharavenItĭ *Saturday* (*little Sunday*); ?ĭkĭromon *New Year's Day* (*new* or *fresh year* [tomO may mean either *year* or *winter*]); ko·korá?/nóyópĭkhratĭhka?enA *Easter* (*when one customarily eats chicken eggs*); pĭkhrapĭarĭhka?enA *Thanksgiving Day* (*when there is big eating*); pĭkhrako·korá?a·rĭhka?enA *Thanksgiving Day* (*when one eats chicken*); pĭkhrawá·cinika?enA *Christmas* (pĭkhra- *when* + wa· (pI) *cedar* + ci- *with a point* + nika- *push into* + -?e, habitual verbal

[657] [18] Up until about 1900 the Government used to issue clothes, groceries, utensils, meat, etc., to the Comanche on Fridays. This is more common than the alternative word for Friday above.

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192 suffix + -nA, verbal suffix); wa·cinikapï *Christmas* (*cedar tree put up*).

197 192 The acculturation vocabulary described in the preceding pages represents the growing point of the Comanche language. It will undoubtedly be augmented as time goes on, but at what will presumably be a diminishing rate. Although these are words of quite recent origin, there is reason to believe that once accepted in the language they are relatively stable. Of the 196 acculturation terms in the 1895 Detrich vocabulary 170 are identical to those collected by the author. These are marked with an asterisk in the lists above. Eighteen, while recognizably similar, vary somewhat from their later form and 7 are completely different from words collected in 1940. The latter are words for *fork*, *glue*, *hoe*, *peanut*, a second word for *bean*, and two terms for *potatoes*. The remaining word is that for quinine, tosanacu?U *white medicine*, for which no word was collected by the author.

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COMANCHE LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION III

JOSEPH B. CASAGRANDE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

5. Some other effects of acculturation on Comanche language and speech
5.1. Comanche bilingualism
6. On Comanche personal names
7. Theoretical conclusions

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192 **5.** At the same time that Comanche has added new vocabulary, old words have been sloughed off or have become obsolescent.[133] Even when the word remains, as is the case with many meaning extensions, knowledge of the original referent is often lost. Just as the average American today has little acquaintance with terms for the parts of a horse's harness, types of horse-drawn vehicles, or sailing ships and their rigging, the Comanche lost a wealth of terms for such things as basketry types, various weaves[134] and implements such as the metate and mano, and fishtraps when they entered the Plains. Similarly, words for traits of Plains culture lost or displaced in the transition to Western culture are rapidly disappearing from the language, as is the full and colorful vocabulary of plant and animal names of a people who for centuries had lived by hunting and food-gathering. However, owing to both the conservatism of language and the memories of men, old traits, customs and beliefs are often fossilized in words and may be recovered by means of a little linguistic archaeology.
192 The following is a representative list of half-forgotten words:

ʔe·nA *jerk meat*(I); ʔohahpíya·ʔ *wasp* (*yellow carried behind*); ʔohanaʔsupé·ʔ *wild gourd* (*yellow ball*) [A gourd was formerly

[133] D. D. Lee, The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu Acculturation, AA 45: 435-440, pp. 438-40 (1943), discusses this point.

[134] See Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, pp. 239 and 241, (1941).

[p. 239-A]

192 used in various ball games.]; ʔitanucI *tipi pegs*; paya·pE *an edible tuber*; puhanahm-suapI *costume for Sun Dance (medicine clothes)*; puhkuhci? *contrary one* (The Comanche shared the general Plains trait of institutionalized contrary behavior); ta?siwó·? *buffalo (feet dragging)* [Used more commonly for buffalo by older Comanche than kuhcU or nïmïkuhcU]; taté?cI[115] *spider (our brother-in-law)*; pihire?cI *tarantula (hairy brother-in-law [spider])*; tamakwasu? *buckskin dress decorated with elk teeth (tooth dress)*; tïvahpI *pinon nuts*; tïkehkwa?I *a hunting party out to secure an immediate supply of meat*; kwahinacu?U *plover (back medicine)*; kwi?nai *eagle* (Said to be an older word for eagle than piahuhcu?, *big bird*); cihavïhka?I *to be menstruating (to become starved)* [Women were supposed to fast while menstruating]; cuhnikorohkU *bone breastplate*; so?mo? *tanned buffalo hide*; haivï·yI *helldiver* (probably haic *friend* + pï·yï *duck*. Said to be a sacred bird and a common guardian spirit); hi?o·wihturu?A *windbreak of dead sunflower stalks*;[116] buhkU *collarbone, flute made of a collarbone*; mï· *custom of giving away surplus food*; narohpa? *medicine given one by a supernatural* (na-, reflexive tohpa *dig out* + -?, nominalizer); nacóhkwe? *mesquite* (see cohkwe *to pound*; mesquite beans were pounded into a mush and eaten); namavicó·?ni? *mesquite (to*

[171] [183] [84] [262]

[115] This and the following word must be understood with reference to the reciprocal joking relationship between Comanche brothers-in-law. Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73-94, p. 87 (1948), gives *our testicles* and *our smell of dog's urine* as common phases substituted for this relationship term.

[116] Windbreaks are a Shoshone trait, Julian H Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XXIII. Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records 8: 3, p. 272 (University of California. 1943).

[p. 239-B]

192 [262] *squeeze juice out*; a soup was made of juice from mesquite pods); naninasu?aitĭ *taboo against mentioning the name of a dead person*; nĭepI *tornado, a mythical big red bat*; wĭ·yu? *awl*; wo?anacu?U *ragweed (back-bone medicine)* woinU *flute* (Applied now to the modern flute); yu?ane·? *bull-roarer* (Used by medicine-men and in peyote ceremonies).

825 Especially noteworthy in Comanche is a well-defined pattern of synonymous animal terms which figure prominently in stories, myths and songs. Their abundance in the language indicates a knowledge of and interest in animal life which may in part be a relic of an earlier Shoshonean cultural tradition. Also, animal names were frequently used in Comanche personal names and the strong taboo on using words associated with a dead person's name may have resulted in the creation of new metonymical terms which then became established in the language. These synonymous animal names are frequently descriptive or they may reflect a folk belief or attitude toward the animal in question. A list of these various terms for a number of familiar animals follows:

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Bear: parua?; wasape?; wĭra?;[137] ?ohamukwe?ya·hr *something yellow [feces] smeared on his nose*; piarähpanakatĭ *has big soles*; pihisoyo? *hair hanging down*; tu·piarai? *black big anus*.

Coyote: ce·na?; ?isA *false, deceitful*; ?oha?ahnakatĭ *has yellow armpits*; kawosA (The meaning of this word was given by one informant as something like *has a bag of tricks*); kihwria? *drooler*; narĭmiwahtĭ *has no owner* (as compared with a dog).

Cottontail Rabbit: ?eka?e?re·? *red nape*; tiehtavu?kina? *little rabbit (jackrabbit)*; hu·tavu?kina? *wood rabbit*; na?nohka? *can be baked*; yu?naivihĭ? *soft hair*.

Opossum: pa?sĭnó?a? *pregnant outside*;

[137] The first three unanalyzable words may originally have referred to different species. See Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120, pp. 274-83 (1938).

551 another factor in making original pronunciations and meanings opaque. There are quite a few instances of the father's English given name being taken as the family name. Anna Harry, Dorothy Tommie, Rhoda Pauah (poʔoʔ, from English, *Paul*), and Ned Timbo, from his father's given name, tĭmoˑʔ, (from English, *Tim, Tom, Timothy* or the like) which was bestowed by a government agent, are examples. James Pedicks (from Felix), and Lilly Tomah sah, from Thomas or the Spanish, Tomas, or the Spanish feminine form, Tomasa, may be added.

A man of 60 is listed as Andrew Aunahro (Perdasofpy). Perdasofpy is an alternative family name after his father, pĭhĭrĭsohpeʔ *one who dips in something hairy*. The Aunahro is simply the Comanche pronunciation of *Andrew*, ʔamaruʔ. Paul Pauau (Paul), 69; and Minnie Mahney, from Minnie, pronounced menĭˑʔ, a woman of 53, also appear on the rolls; their first and second names are really one and the same. One man whose Comanche name was tuniwĭkitĭ *one who runs as hard as he can*, appears on the rolls as Tony Wocket. Hovaruthka, huvarihkaʔ *coffee eater*, a man of 69, has the alternative name of Eli Coffee. Eli was said to have been derived from *eater*.

551 192 Several Comanche family names stem from Spanish loanwords: Komahcheet, kuhmahcĭˑtO, from comanchito, the Spanish diminutive of Comanche; Kopaddy, kupáˑreʔ, from compadre, *Godfather or friend*; and Tahuano, tĭháˑnoʔ, from tejano *Texan*. These, along with a goodly number of Spanish given names, represent a major contribution of Spanish to the Comanche language.

551 177 A new fashion in given first names may be observed since the custom was first introduced to the Comanche some 70 years ago. There is a distinct change from simple, single given names to rather elegant and fanciful double names. This shift has no doubt taken its cue from a similar change in the local White naming preferences, but the

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128 sitions designed to relate specific linguistic data to the social, cultural, and historical facts of which they are diagnostic.

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7.1. On examination of the Comanche occulturation vocabulary as a whole it is quite evident that the preponderance of new terms are those for material aspects of White culture. While it cannot be assumed that Comanche knowledge of White culture is restricted to those traits for which the language provides unitary terms, this fact bespeaks greater familiarity with the tangibles of Western culture than with non-material traits. Nor is this surprising, as the things of daily use tend to be the first part of one culture to be both presented to and accepted by another culture. Moreover, material culture does not necessarily require a spoken introduction to a borrowing people. Non-material or intellectual culture, on the other hand, is essentially transmitted through the medium of language, and such knowledge, unless it is sheer mimicry, must necessarily be translated from one language into another through the good offices of one, a few, or many bilingual speakers. It is probably unrealistic to expect that any significant corpus of alien intellectual culture, especially that of an esoteric nature, will be incorporated into a borrowing culture or accommodated by its language unless it is espoused by some special class of persons such as scholars, priests, rulers, or artisans who occupy positions of some prestige or power. Status groups such as these were non-existent in Comanche culture, and it is significant that those Comanche most conversant with Western intellectual culture also know English best and use English in discussing these aspects of Western culture.

The words added to the vocabulary are almost entirely nominal forms. Adjectives, adverbs, and verbs, except as these may be derived from nominal forms, are conspicuously absent and words for abstract concepts such as science, government, machine, etc., are rare. The religious terminology

where one might expect to find the greatest proliferation of abstract terms is likewise relatively barren. It reflects a religious fundamentalism preached by parable and illustration. Ideas like resurrection, apostasy, holiness, salvation, and penitence are translated, if at all, by clumsy descriptive phrases or sentences.

Several segments of White culture have received some linguistic elaboration. There are words for fourteen or so breeds of dogs, and the vocabulary of terms for card playing and gambling is fairly rich. Both of these flairs can perhaps be explained in terms of interests already present in the culture. Linton mentions the great preoccupation of the Comanche with the dog,[130] and Steward notes the Shoshone predilection for gambling, common throughout North America, and which was shared by the Comanche.[131] There are a great many words for various diseases and many of these such as the word for diabetes, called *sugar sickness*, evince a good deal of sophistication. Indeed, the diseases the Whites brought and the havoc they wrought could hardly have escaped attention. As one informant said, "Before the Whites came there was nothing but toothache". Mooney mentions smallpox epidemics in 1816 and 1861–62. Cholera was rampant in 1849 and in 1882 measles and whooping cough broke out. Measles again reached epidemic proportions in 1892.[132] At the present time a well-equipped and staffed hospital is available and, in line with the general government health program, some knowledge of medicine is available to the Comanche.

The list of terms omitted from the acculturation vocabulary is perhaps as in-

[130] Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 428–29 (Appleton-Century, New York; 1936).

[131] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 247 (University of California, 1941).

[132] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C.; 1898).

177 structive as those included in it. The fact
197 that a trait of Western culture is not named
192 does not necessarily mean that it is unknown to the Comanche, or that it cannot be described by them. But it does seem to indicate that it is not generally known or widely accepted. Thus, the very fact that a new trait is named is a good index of its general acceptance. One is tempted to hypothesize that the new words which are linguistically most economical or conform closest to Comanche language habits are those for the traits most completely integrated into Comanche culture.

192 The scarcity of technical, scientific, or
177 scholarly terms from the list of new words has already been commented upon and it is pointless to note those omitted. However, there follows below a selected list of familiar traits of Western culture which are not specifically named by the Comanche although they may be designated by more general terms (e.g., pekwinarohtïman *canned fish*, may refer to *salmon*, *sardines* or *tuna*; and *lettuce* or *asparagus* are included in the general word for *vegetable*, pokorihkapï *fruit food*): advertisement, asbestos, asparagus, blow-torch, bluing, bomb, borax, canary, cellophane, chick-peas, cider, cockroach, dictionary, dill, egg-plant, elevator, fountain, hinge, hobo, hops, insurance, lettuce, lightning-rod, lilly, lobster, magnet, menu, monument, organ, padlock, pickle, pretzel, pulley, refrigerator, rainspout, rose, screw, shrimp, skis, slot machine, sponge, sprinkler, starch, thermometer, tulip, vinegar, wax, whale, wine, zipper.

177 Finally, we may say that while Comanche
197 contact with White culture had had far-reaching effects, the Comanche language has preserved its essential form. Comanche
197 has reacted by adapting itself to new cul-
192 tural experience by using its own linguistic resources rather than by extensive borrowing from an alien tongue. Indeed, there is evidence that relatively few loanwords from English, which today is the dominant com-

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197 peting language, were added prior to the
192 turn of the last century.

7.2. In the interest of conciseness the
128 numbered statements which follow are phrased as a series of postulates, a device suggested to the writer by one of Bloomfield's papers.[134] Some of these postulates attempt to make explicit certain assumptions about language which are basic to this paper, while others state general observations on linguistic change, especially those changes induced by culture contact.

121 1. Language is a part of culture and, in its semantic aspects, symbolic of culture.

2. Change is a normal linguistic process which is not autonomous but attributable to psychological, social and cultural causes.[134]

3. The rate of linguistic change is variable and may be affected by both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. Among the latter, some of which may also operate in initiating change, are the size of the speech community; types and extent of use of mass communication media; literacy; relative prestige of competing languages or dialects; degree of bilingualism or multilingualism; type, intensity and duration of cross-cultural contacts.[135]

4. Linguistic change is a part of total culture change, although these changes are not necessarily coextensive or parallel.

5. Because language is, in part, symbolic of culture, linguistic changes may reveal culture changes whether the latter stem from culturally internal or culturally external sources.

6. Culture contact may induce changes in both the formal and semantic aspects of language.

7. Formal changes may arise: externally, due to the direct influence of a foreign

[113]

[134] Leonard Bloomfield, A Set of Postulates for the Science of Language, Lg 2: 153-64 (1926).

[134] Harry Hoijer, Linguistic and Cultural Change, Lg. 24.335-45 (1948).

[135] Uriel Weinreich discusses both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors in language change in his book, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (New York, 1953).

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121 ported by Comanche data, many require further substantiation before they can be accepted. Although the propositions are in the main derived from and illustrated by Comanche material, they are cast in generalized terms in the belief that they are relevant to other languages as well. Related propositions are grouped together, but they are not otherwise classified.

1. The total acculturation vocabulary will indicate the range of contact, the aspects of culture most affected by acculturation, and provides a sort of catalogue of traits which have been accepted by the recipient culture.

2. The presence of a single word (or several synonymous forms) in common usage in a language indicates that the trait denoted has been relatively widely accepted by the borrowing culture. Conversely, if a new trait is not so named, it presumably has not been widely accepted.

3. If an unanalyzable stem has been extended in meaning, it may be assumed that an analogue of the new trait existed in the native culture. Thus, the extension of co·mO 121
which now refers to *modern beads of various* 192
materials, and wihI to *steel knife* indicates 197
that functionally similar objects were found in aboriginal Comanche culture. Ethnographic notes tell us that the prototypes of these new products were bone beads and the flint knife. In some instances the original referent may be obsolete or obsolescent; e.g., wosA, formerly *parfleche*, now *box, pocket, container*.

121 4. Conversely, if a new trait is not designated by a simple extension of meaning, one may assume that no close analogue was to be found in the native culture. Thus, 192
the descriptive word for boat, pawovivu·kU 197
water beard horse, indicates the absence of 121
watercraft in aboriginal Comanche culture. This word for boat also suggests the great importance of the horse as a means of transportation.

5. Since meaning extension depends upon the formal, functional or symbolic equation

[p. 254-A]

121 of the old and the new, such extensions often
192 afford clues not only as to how new traits
197 are perceived, but also to the way in which they are integrated into the culture. The extension in Comanche of puha *supernatural power* to the spheres of both medicine and religion is an example (see **4.1**).

121 6. When a meaning has been extended, if a modifier is used to distinguish between what is native and old and what is foreign and new, the relative importance of the two traits may be indicated by the differential use of these modifiers (see **4.1**).

[194] 7. A rare distribution of a phoneme or
[192] a deviant cluster of phonemes in a word suggests that the word has been borrowed; e.g. kv and ks in sikvic *six bits* and taks *tax, taxes*. The initial ts in tseetsee fly is an example from English.

[192] 8. A polysyllabic word of more than the usual minimum length which is unanalyzable into smaller meaningful elements is apt to be borrowed:[166] tomá·ta? *tomato* (tomate, Span.); makaró·ni? *macaroni* (Eng.). In both of these examples, additional evidence of their foreign origin is afforded by the fact that the stress does not fall on the first syllable (see **3.2.**)

9. In general, the more closely a borrowed word is assimilated to the phonetics of the borrowing language, the older it is and the earlier the trait it denotes has been introduced into the culture.

121 10. The longer a loanword has been in a
192 language the greater the tendency for it to
197 acquire a wider range of meaning or to be used metaphorically or in figurative expressions; e.g., mu·ra? *mule* (Span., mula) in ?evimú·ra?ya?ke? *frog*, literally *green mule crier*.

121 11. The linguistic source of a loanword
177 will suggest the provenience of a new cul-
192 tural acquisition; e.g., the Comanche were

[166] Edward Sapir, Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture, A Study in Method, Memoir 90, Canada Dept. of Mines (Ottawa, Canada; 1916) p. 69, discusses this point in some detail.

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121 177 192 introduced to the mule, bread, sandals and vests by the Spanish; to money and administrative offices by the Americans.

121 12. The areas of culture represented by loanwords may indicate differential effects of several impinging cultures (see 4.3).

13. The number of loanwords in a language, while no absolute index, may indicate the extent or amount of contact one culture has had with another (see 4.3).

14. Other things being equal, the greater the proportion of loanwords and loan-translations in a language, as opposed to meaning extensions and new coinages, the more intense, intimate or lasting the culture contact has been.

15. Since loan-translation requires the borrowing of a foreign mode of thought, description or expression, rather than the incorporation of a foreign word, it reflects a more subtle influence than the borrowing of loanwords. The use of loan-translations in any number may be indicative of a deeper and more thorough-going acculturation (see also proposition 18).

121 192 197 16. When the analysis of what is apparently a descriptive word is obscure there is a strong likelihood that it is an older word: pïesu?ve? *bandana*, and pimoró·? *cattle*. In these two examples there is, of course, also the possibility that meaning extension and borrowing respectively have occurred.

121 192 194 197 17. If phonetic or grammatical reduction occurs in a descriptive word, or phonetic reduction in a loanword, it is apt to be of relatively early origin: ?eksahpana? *soldier*; in this word ?eka- *red*, has been reduced to ?ek-. In tehnsé·?, from English *ten cents*, phonetic reduction has also occurred.

121 192 177 18. The elements used in new descriptive formations will often indicate the approximate date or period of introduction of a new trait. The Comanche word for *soldier*, ?eksahpana? *red belly*, describes a type of uniform no longer used; the words for *Democrat* and *Republican* refer to party symbols, the rooster and the eagle, of an earlier era. One could also include here the

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121 descriptive terms for introduced articles,
177 such as the *beaver hat*, *cauldron*, or types of
192 blankets, which are no longer in general use, although the names for them are retained in the vocabulary.

121 Modes of perception as these may be dictated by language and may also be revealed in new descriptive words.[159] The Comanche
121 characteristically describe many new traits,
192 particularly implements and machines, in dynamic, functional terms rather than static ones of color, size and shape. One is
121 tempted to speculate whether this may be
181 correlated with Comanche personality as described by Kardiner who comments upon, "the emphasis on activity itself",[160] and notes their capacity to deal skillfully, assertively and self-confidently with the world.

121 Attitudes toward new traits, and temperamental or other psychological characteristics may also be reflected. The words for *whiskey*
192 and *prostitute* both use the word, po?sa, which, while translated *crazy*, connotes generally deviant behavior.[160a] From the contexts in which it appears, ?esi-, literally *grey*, also has broader connotations of being nondescript, drab, or unseemly. It is significantly used in the word for captive, ?esinï·mï (nï·mï *person*).

The word for White man, taivo·?, is used in the sense of *alien* to apply also to the products of white culture and to other races of men. The use of ca- *fine* or *good* in describing silk and gems indicates that these things are highly valued. The word for *rice* (*worm* or *maggot food*), may reveal a

[113] [159] See Benjamin L. Whorf, Four Articles on Metalinguistics, Foreign Service Institute, Dept. of State, (Washington, D. C.; 1950); also D. D. Lee, A Primitive System of Values, Philosophy of Science 7: 355-365 (1940) and The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu·' Acculturation, AA 45: 435-440, especially, pp. 437-39, (1943).

[113] [160] Abram Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society, p. 94, (Columbia University Press; New York, 1945).

[113] [160a] The Blackfoot word for crazy is similarly employed. See L. M. Hawks, Jr., A Psychological Exploration in the Blackfoot Language, IJAL 20.195-205 (1954).

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192 distaste for the food when first encountered. —or it may simply memorialize a matter-of-fact observation that boiled rice does indeed resemble maggots. The vulgar words for *cheese* (5), the word for *condom* (*rubber foreskin*), *gonorrhea* and others reflect the absence of prudery in sexual matters.

[83]

121 19. Where new vocabulary has clustered one may look for cultural interests or flairs which may either have pre-existed in the culture or have been acquired (see 7.1), but in the latter instance revealing aspects of the donor culture which have been most eagerly seized upon, most salient, or as in the case of diseases among the Comanche, indicating conditions peculiar to the time of contact.

20. The core of unanalyzable words, especially nominal stems, in a language usually denote traits that are of considerable antiquity in a culture.[11] Compounds which embody these core words would therefore necessarily refer to traits subsequently introduced. The caveat that meanings do

[11] See also Edward Sapir, Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture, A Study in Method, Memoir 90, Canada Dept. of Mines, pp. 54–5 (Ottawa, Canada; 1916).

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COMANCHE BABY LANGUAGE

JOSEPH B. CASAGRANDE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

195 868 The Comanche language[1] reveals an unusually rich and formalized vocabulary of special baby words which were used in teaching the child to speak. Their use began 195 868 when the child was old enough to understand, at about one year according to informants, and dropped off as the child matured 856 and learned the normal, adult locutions at the age of 3 to 4. If a child persisted in using these words after the age of 5 or so, it would be laughed at and ridiculed for its babyish 195 ways. Today English holds sway and these 178 baby words no longer function actively, although children in those families or households where there are older persons who speak only Comanche may have some knowledge of them. So of necessity these data 124 were recorded from the lips of adult speakers, most of whom, however, maintain a lively memory of the baby forms.

128 The following list was checked with eight [124] informants and is probably exhaustive. Where known, the adult form or derivation is given in brackets after the translation of the baby word or words.

195 192 ʔáʔh, ʔáx, ʔáʔhA *something nasty or dirty; feces, urine, penis, a smell; warning to get away from something dirty; I have wet, dirtied myself; command for baby to defecate.*

ʔaʔhá·ʔ *no good!* (said to baby).

The next two forms are used in speaking to and by older children. They are derived from the baby words, but with regular verbal suffixes.

ʔáʔhi·kwhA *go off and defecate!*

ʔáʔhI, ʔáʔhinI? *I have dirtied myself.*

ʔaná·, ʔanó· *it hurts!* (pointing to place); *sore place, cut; command to child to get away from thing or place where it might get hurt.*

[101] [122] [1] The material for this paper was gathered on a field trip sponsored by Columbia University to the Comanche Indians living near Indiahoma, Oklahoma during the summer of 1940.

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ʔasɨ·, ʔaʔsɨ· *rectum; feces, defecation; anything nasty.*

ʔeroró·ʔ, ʔeró·ʔ, ʔetó·ʔ *white man* [táivo·ʔ *white man*].

ʔɪtɨ́·ʔ, ʔɪtɨ́tɨ́tɨ́·ʔ *it's hot!* (command to stay away); *fire, lamp, lightning, sun, flashlight, firewood; anything that will burn* [ʔɨrɨ́·ʔ, ʔɨrɨrɨrɨ́·ʔ].

ʔɨ·kéta? *don't; let me alone.*

ʔɨ· exclamation of surprise (women or babies).

hɨ́·, hɨ·kéta? as above; also used by adults; *don't* (scared).

ʔɪcɨ́·ʔ, ʔɪcɪcɪcɨ́·ʔ *cover me, dress me, I'm cold; it's cold; command to stay away from something cold* [ʔɪcɨ́· used only as an exclamation].

ʔɪnɨ́·ʔ *insect; any small noxious animal, to babies when one wants child to be afraid of something or leave it alone; bug, snake, scorpion, ant, person;* exclamation of fright. [ʔɪnɨ́·].

ʔú?tU *give it to me!* [ʔú·tU].

ʔum·á? *good! nice! beautiful;* said by mother when she wants to comb child's hair, dress it; said to attract child's attention to clothes, toy; *anything bright or colorful that attracts the child: red, yellow, blue.*

ʔumó·ʔ, mó·ʔ *cattle, cow, bull* [onomatopoeia].

papá·ʔ *I want a drink;* water [pá· *water*].

papó·ʔ, popó·ʔ *dog.*

pepé·ʔ *ball* (it was said by one informant that this word was used only by girls as boys didn't play with balls) [naʔ sihpé·ʔ].

pikɨ́·ʔ *pig* [English; pig, piggy].

tatá·ʔ *something to eat, especially meat; I want, give me . . . ; eat!* [tɨ́·kap *food, meat*].

tató·ʔ *shoes, moccasins* [ta prefix meaning *foot:* tàhtokó·ʔ *toe*].

táʔsi *vagina* (táʔsip to baby when bouncing it on the knees. A personal name: *one who has a vagina*) [táʔI].

[p. 11-B]

192 195 **tutú·ʔ** *automobile, train, anything that whistles* [onomatopoeia].

kaká·ʔ, kaká *bird; head louse.*

kanî·ʔ *house, tipi* [kánhI].

kokó·ʔ *fruit, candy, cookies; any snack between meals;* give me. . . .

cikî·ʔ *chicken* [English].

cicî·ʔ *breast, bottle, milk, I want to be suckled!* [pîcip *milk, breast*].

cʔci?, pîci? mother to child when she is going to nurse it.

mamá·ʔ *horse;* said by child when it wants to be carried on someone's back.

mamá·ʔ *mother* [English].

mukî·ʔ, mu·kî·ʔ *giant, owl, bogey* (to scare child) [related to mú·pic, the legendary *giant owl*].

mumú·ʔ used to scare child; child's exclamation of fright; *the dark, thunder; cow.*

naná·ʔ *it might hurt, get away; blood, sore, hurt;* said if baby doesn't feel well; if it is bitten or hurt by another child [see ʔaná·].

nInî·ʔ *doll; baby; little ones of animals; little. . . .*

nInîcî·ʔ *dear little doll, baby* [related to the pronominal prefix, nI-, *I, me*].

wa?ó·ʔ, wa·ʔó·ʔ *cat* [adult: wá?o·].

ʔî?sI, nî?îsik *cover me!* [adult: ʔihfkI, nî?ihfkI].

wî?asI *penis* [adult: wî?A (wî?asi? male personal name *one who has a penis*)].

The sI here, and also in the baby word for *vagina,* **tá?sI,** is probably derived from the diminutive suffix, **-cI.**

RELATIONSHIP TERMS

601 195 **piá** *mother* (the regular adult word; there is no special baby word in common use).

pipiá said by some babies.

ʔapî·ʔ *father, father's brother, father's hair (friend)* [ʔápî address form; ʔáhpî? reference form].

ʔatá·ʔ *mother's brother, husband of mother's friend* [ʔárhA address form; ʔára? reference form].

pacî·ʔ *older sister* [pácI address form; páci? reference form].

[p. 12-A]

195 from the above list, is another feature: ttfi
193 is said by little girls for tî·i, *girl friend;* pipiá for piá *mother*, etc. Although reduplication is present in Comanche as a grammatical process, it performs no ostensible grammatical function in the child's speech. Various
195 phonemic substitutions are made; p for kw
194 as pfhI for kwfhÎ *wife;* pánA for kwánA *odor, smell;* also i for I as tiás for tîas, etc. One person carries the personal name, pitá·si? *one who always defecates*, a "baby name", where a p is substituted for the kw in kwítA *defecate!*, and the suffix -sI is also added. These substitutions are not regular, but are commonly made by children learning to speak. Somewhat more regular is the substitution of t for r (see examples in the word list).

192 Several facts become apparent upon study
195 of the above list of baby words. First, it must be recognized that these function not as
[196] single, simple words, but as whole sentences with many different, albeit related, possible meanings (exclamatory, imperative, declarative, interrogative) which are elucidated by gestures, intonations, and the context of the situation. They are really sentence-words.
195 Phonetically the baby words are simple:
194 there are no preaspirated consonants; the sonant plus h does not appear; whispered vowels and the defective phonemes, r and v, are rare and their appearance is probably late in the speech development of the child. The x phoneme and the long m are unique to the baby vocabulary.

Reduplication is evident and appears to be especially common in those words generic to the baby language and basic to it. The baby word phonetic pattern of two syllables with the second vowel accented, long, and usually ending in a glottal stop occurs in most of the examples. Words derived from the adult vocabulary are put into this pattern, as may be seen from the relationship terms. Presumably it is in this phonetic form that words are first presented to the child. This seems consistent with our practice of carefully enunciating words when teaching them to a child.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N[illegible] manche NO6
xas

Men, whose furrowed [ca. 1818] cheeks and blanched locks palpably indicate what we would call an extreme old age, and who by their own traditionary accounts, have felt the frosts of an hundred winters, will not relinquish the sports of their youth, the hunting of Buffaloes on horseback. The almost unqualified salubrity of the climate they occupy, certainly has a large share in this unusual prolongation of life and activity. Their being altogether debarred, by local remoteness from civilization, from the use of spirituous liquors, is another prominent reason of their healthful condition. How happy would it be, for the abused and degraded aborigines of our country, had they all been equally secluded from access to that baleful poison of the moral and physical man. Their intercourse with their more refined and cultivated neighbors, might in that case have been productive of many benefits to this hapless race, whereas it has been replete with disaster.

B.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, July 3, 1824]

A brief desultory and imperfect vocabulary of the Comanche language; respectfully dedicated to Professor Rafinesque of Transylvania University [Lexington, Ky.]

Too-he-whistee—Man
Whiep—Woman
App—Father
Pe a—Mother
Too-a—Son
Pate—Daughter
Ta-que-ne-whap—Chief captain
Pe ee sheamp—Private soldier
Tav-e-vo—Spaniard
Carno—American
Inkernish—English
Pavom-pete—White man
Tu-he-wheete—Red or color'd men
Hanche—Friend
Hanche-ka-a—Enemy
Taa-ve—Sun
Mu-ur—Moon
So-co-vete—The Earth
Tasheno—Stars
Kar-me-ad-tasheno—North or not moving star
Tucan—Night
Ta-bane—Day
Oot-sa-inte—Winter or cold
Urra-inte—Summer or warm

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

192 [ca. 1818]

Sau-nipp—Grass
Hoophe—Trees
Ooth-table—Dirt, earth
Toome-pee—Stones
Paa-ve—Water
Tath-cabe—Snow
Pe-a-aiate—Gun
Arrico-aiate—Bow
Parke—Arrow
Cheeke—Lance
Nar-quitts—Powder
Nab-bark—Ball
Whee—Knife
Whee-a—Rope, Lareat or halter
Whee-o—Awl
Chome—Beads
Whan-nap—Blanket
Tosha-whan-nap—Red blanket
Inka-whan-nap—White blanket
Kit-sante—Bad, wicked, ugly
Kish-a-wante—Very bad, very ugly
Ha-a—Yes
Kaia—No
Car-nhe—House, tent
Hox-ee—Where, which
Oox-ee—There, that
Ix-ee—Here, this
Mar-tim-erow—To trade, buy and sell
Tome—Give
Me jacke—Give me, bring to me
So-base—Long time, far off
Oo-kist-ee—Now, presently, short time
Mee-isthee—Near, not far off
Man-anke—Far off, great distance
No-be-tink—To encamp
Nab-e-tink—To fight, war
Nad-de-no—Saddle
Array—Bridle
Noothe-pee—Whip
Poon kee—Horse
Cootes—Buffaloe
Sha-ree—Dog
Parrow-a—Bear
Harnish—Beaver
Too-he-a—Deer
Tooth-cap—Meat
Tooth-kee—To eat
Ho-ove—To drink
Na-rath-too-kee—Mockasin
Coo-she—Leggins
Coo-ne—Fire
Too is-chee-kee—Axe or hatchet
Pe-nar—Honey
Ha-nebe—Corn
Pohe-pe-nar—Watermelon
Nar-que-see—Pumpkin
Paam-pee—Head
Phee—Heart
Poo-ur—Arm
Oom—Leg
Tu-ruth-kee—To steal
Noof-kim—Go, begone
Kim-ai—Come
Obes-kee—To kill
Pay-ee—Blood